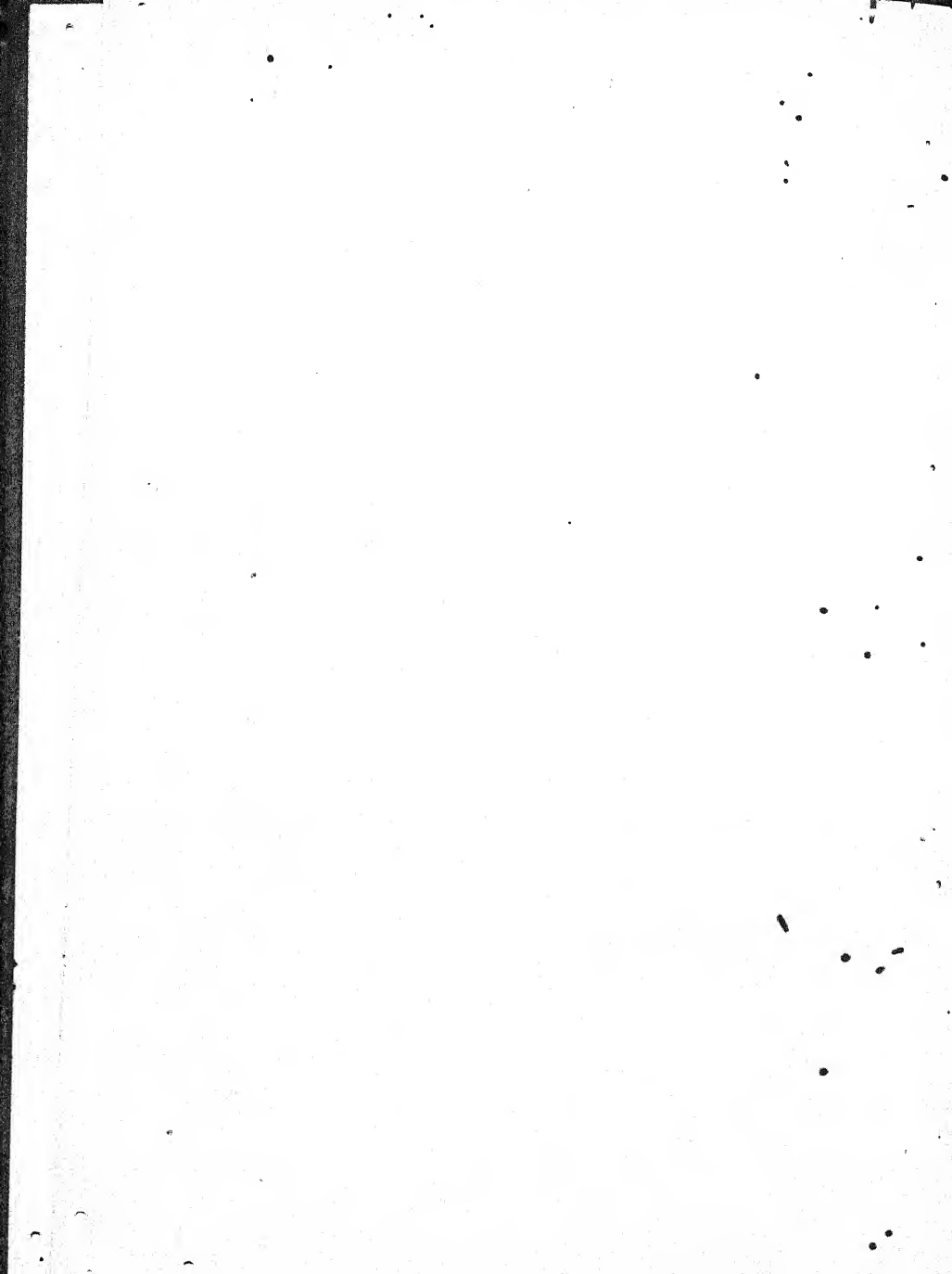
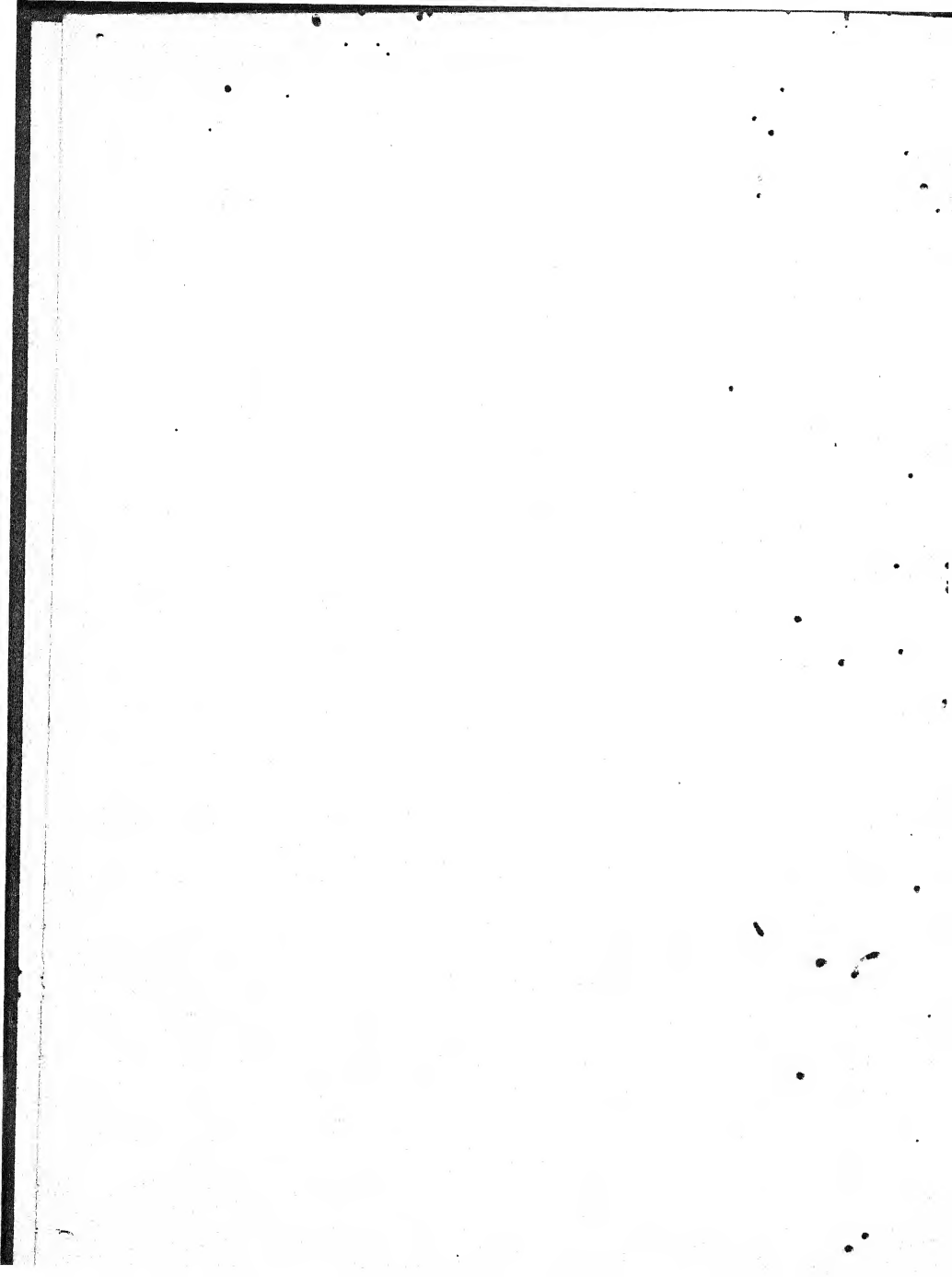


JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE

VOL. LII.





JOURNAL OF
THE TRANSACTIONS

OF

The Victoria Institute,

OR,

Philosophical Society of Great Britain.

VOL. LII.



LONDON:

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LONDON:

HARRISON AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

PREFACE.

THE after-pressure of the War has by no means ceased, and in several cases has acted prejudicially in depriving us of some of our supporters, who have found themselves unable to pay the subscription, which is still on a pre-war footing.

One cannot, however, review the year 1920 without feeling very thankful for what our Society has accomplished. While deeply conscious that the Victoria Institute is too little known and does not fully occupy the position it should hold among the learned Societies of this Country, we feel it is steadily doing a work that no other Body attempts.

The general upheaval in Europe has resulted in a tidal-wave of deep unrest flooding all the country, and many things that we thought impregnable are being seriously shaken—among which the foundations of our religious faith have not escaped.

Here then is the moment when this Philosophic Institute can prove its value in a special way, by standing as a well-reasoned and firm bulwark against the present chaos of unbelief.

Philosophy, and above all Christian philosophy, can do much that is beyond the province of mere Science; and we warmly welcome the help of all Christian Philosophers in the cause we have so much at heart—the re-settlement of the great truths of our Christian faith, on an intelligent basis in the hearts of our countrymen.

Nothing less than this lofty purpose animates the actions of our Council; and when this work can be associated with true scientific knowledge, the combination is invaluable.

We feel that the aim of the Institute only requires to be better known to command the support of all Christian men of Science, and we look forward hopefully to adding many such to our ranks in the coming year.

Turning to what has been done during the past session, we see that

the "Silences of Scripture," by the Rev. A. H. Finn, the "Meaning of the Æsthetic Impulse," by the Rev. Stewart A. McDowall, and "Freedom and Discipline," by the Very Rev. Dean Inge. Archæology in its various branches has been well represented by Dr. Masterman's paper on the "Walls of Jerusalem," the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson on the "Samaritan Pentateuch," "Babylon in the Days of Nebuchadrezzar," by Theophilus G. Pinches, of the British Museum, "Monumental Art in Early England, Caledonia and Ireland," by the Rt. Rev. Bishop G. Forrest Browne, and by the beautifully illustrated lecture by Mr. Arthur Sutton on the "Ruined Cities of Palestine."

With regard to the future we look forward to Papers of special value at the present moment; such as "The Psychology of Man," by Dr. Anderson-Berry, "Prophecy," by Lieut.-Col. Molony, "Public School Education," by the Head Master of Westminster School, and the "Tri-partite Nature of Man," by the Rev. Gosset-Tanner.

Other papers on "Empire," by Bishop Ingham, "Motherhood," by Dr. Amand Routh, "Fetichism," by W. Hoste, and Canon Parfit's lecture on Mesopotamia all promise to be of great interest.

The large average audiences of last year are a distinct encouragement, and also the considerable accession of new Members and Associates.

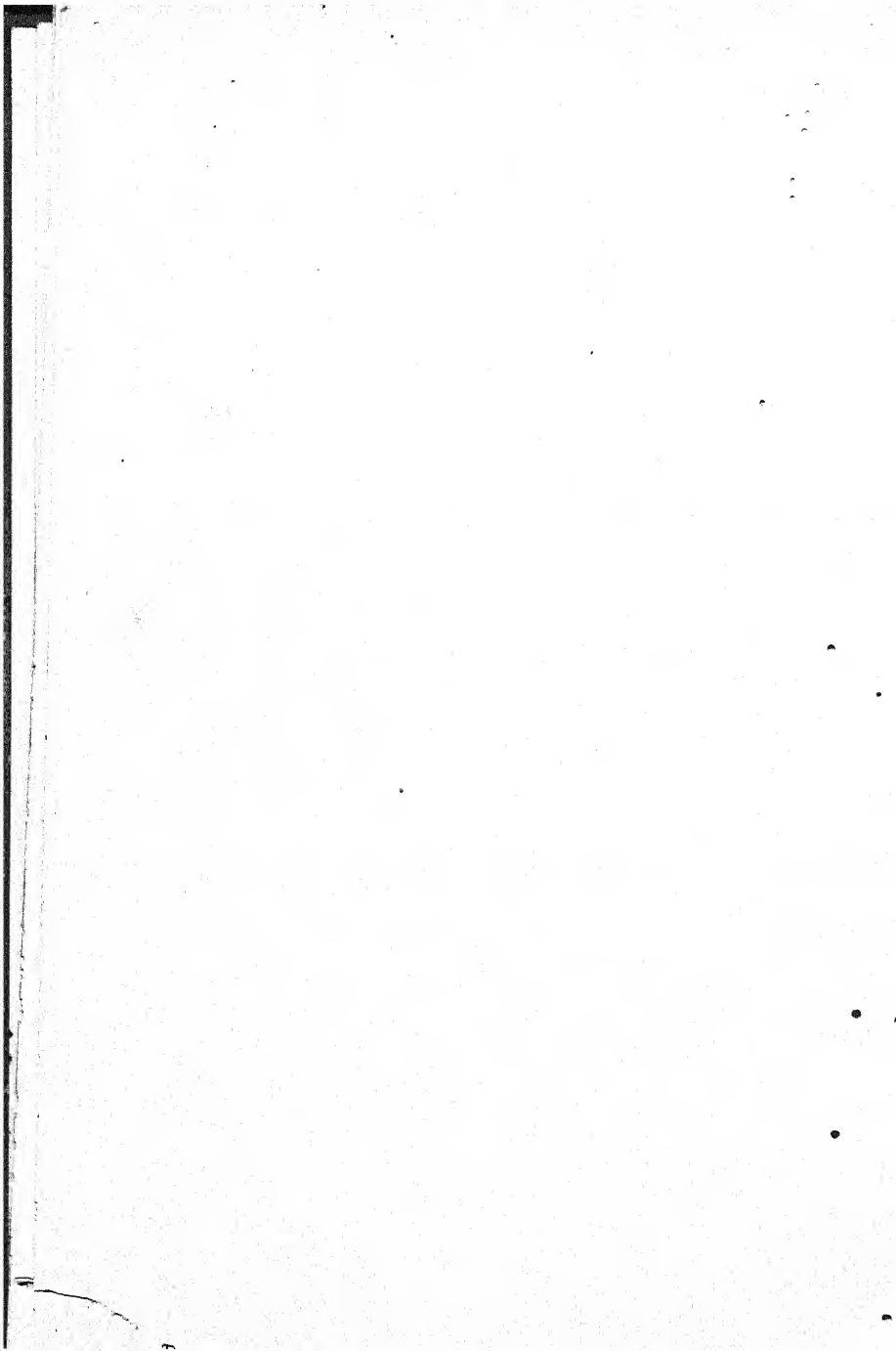
The Institute is greatly indebted to the distinguished readers of the Papers of the past and coming years, who have and will give the results of their original research and scientific and religious studies at a time when sound teaching is so much required.

This brief review would be quite incomplete if no mention were made of the fresh effort the Institute has put forth to meet the needs of the times in a series of "Tracts for New Times," selected and arranged for Papers, read before the Institute by writers of authority. They are as follows:—(1) "The Problem of Nature," the Rev. G. F. Whidborne, M.A., F.G.S.; (2) "Modern Conceptions of the Universe," G. F. C. Searle, M.A., F.R.S.; (3) "The First Chapter of Genesis," E. W. Maunder, F.R.A.S.; (4) "Creation or Evolution," Walter Kidd, M.D., F.Z.S.; (5) "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament."

Life in Connection with the Genesis Account of Creation," the Rev. A. Irving, D.Sc., B.A.

In conclusion, we look forward with confidence to a large accession to our Members, as the important work of the Victoria Institute becomes better known.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD,
Editor.



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VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1919.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MARCH 1ST, 1920.

1. Progress of the Institute.

In presenting to the Members of the Victoria Institute the Fifty-first Annual Report, the Council desire to acknowledge the good hand of God in carrying the Institute through another year. They are thankful to note that with the cessation of hostilities and the subsequent signing of the peace treaty fresh interest in the work of the Institute has been aroused, as shown by increased attendances at the meetings. The work of reconstruction, however, is everywhere slow. The past year has been one of great unsettlement. The exaggerated hopes of a "new earth" held out by politicians, as the immediate results of peace, have not been realized.

All now recognize that a permanent advance can only be realized by a united effort to economize and produce more on behalf of the community in general. We trust that this same spirit of united effort and concentrated interest may be found among the Members of the Institute. The high standard of the papers of previous years has been well maintained and the best thanks of the Council are due to those who at no small expense of time and trouble have thus contributed to the usefulness of the Institute.

2. Meetings.

Nine ordinary meetings were held during the year 1919. The papers were—

- "Christian Sanity." By A. T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D.
- "The Influence of Christianity on the Position of Women." By Miss C. L. MAYNARD, First Principal of Westfield College, University of London.
- "The Philosophy of Bishop Butler." By the Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON.
- "The Personal Influence of Great Commanders in the Past." By Major-General Sir GEORGE K. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.
- "The Teacher's Vocation." By MONTAGUE J. RENDALL, Esq., M.A., Head Master of Winchester College.
- "Plants of the Bible." By A. B. RENDLE, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S. (Illustrated by lantern slides.)

"The One in The Many, and The Many in The One." By Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc.

"The Mosaic Calendar, as a means of dating approximately certain Ancient Writings." By E. WALTER MAUNDER, Esq., F.R.A.S.
Annual Address: "The Literary Marvels of St. Luke." By Lieut.-Colonel G. MACKINLAY.

3. *The Journal of Transactions.*

Volume LI of the *Transactions* was issued in January, 1920. The papers themselves are published in full, and also, to meet the desire of Members, the reports of the discussions, which had, owing to the heavy cost of paper and printing, been much condensed in late years.

4. *Council and Officers.*

The following is the List of the Council and Officers for the year 1920:—

President.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Halsbury, P.C., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
Very Rev. H. Wace, M.A., D.D., Dean of Canterbury.
Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Rev. Prebendary Fox, M.A.
Lt.-Colonel George Mackinlay.
Alfred T. Schofield, Esq., M.D., *Chairman of Council.*

Honorary Auditors.

H. Lance Gray, Esq.

G. Avenell, Esq.

Honorary Treasurer.

Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., F.L.S.

Honorary Secretary.

William Hoste, Esq., B.A.

Honorary Editor of the Journal.

A. T. Schofield, Esq., M.D.

Council.

(In Order of Original Election.)

Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A.
T. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., F.L.S.
Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc.
Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. C. Weldon, D.D.
Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.
Rev. H. J. R. Marston, M.A.
J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
E. J. Sewell, Esq.
Alfred William Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M.,
Deputy Chairman

R. W. Dibdin, Esq., F.R.G.S.
T. B. Bishop, Esq.
H. Lance Gray, Esq.
John Clarke Dick, Esq., M.A.
W. Hoste, Esq., B.A.
Alfred H. Burton, Esq., B.A., M.D., C.M.
Ern st W. G. Masterman, Esq., F.R.C.S.
Theodore Roberts, Esq.
Lt.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E., late R.E.
Lt.-Col. Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., R.F.A.

5. *Election of Council and Officers.*

In accordance with the rules the following Members of the Council retire by rotation :—

Joseph Graham, Esq.
The Rev. G. H. Lancaster, M.A., F.R.A.S.
T. B. Bishop, Esq.
H. Lance Gray, Esq.
The Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A.
T. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

of whom the following offer themselves and are nominated by the Council for re-election :—

T. B. Bishop, Esq.
H. Lance Gray, Esq.
The Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A.
T. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.

The Council propose as Vice-President :—

The Rt. Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D., Bishop of Durham.
and as Members of Council :—

W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. and
Colonel C. W. R. St. John, late R.E.

6. *Obituary.*

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members and Associates :—

The Rev. C. H. Barlow, F. A. Bevan, Esq., Sir T. F. Victor Buxton, Bart., The Rev. John Cain, The Ven. Archdeacon W. Daunt, The Rev. J. Eskersley, The Rev. Dr. R. H. Fleming, Charles Gray, Esq., R. Gladstone, Esq., Mrs. C. S. Hogg, Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., The Rev. Dr. H. Lonsdell, The Rev. Isaac Levinson, The Ven. Archdeacon A. E. Moule, The Rev. J. S. Moffat, C.M.G., The Rev. Canon Rendell, The Hon. J. W. Symonds, Henry Sandford, Esq., and the Ven. Archdeacon A. M. Wood.

7. *New Members and Associates.*

The following are the names of new Members and Associates elected during 1919 :—

MEMBERS.—David Anderson-Berry, Esq., M.D., LL.D., The Rev. Canon D. M. Berry, John C. Dick, Esq., M.A., J. Cavendish Molson, Esq., M.D., Edward R. P. Moon, Esq., M.A., John Marshall Spink, Esq.

ASSOCIATES.—The Rev. W. L. Baxter, D.D., Mrs. Harry Barker, Miss Edith Brown, Albert Close, Esq., Mrs. J. Cain, The Rev. Principal S. Chadwick, Miss E. A. Everett, Thomas Fox, Esq., Herbert A. Hall, Esq., J. Harvey, Esq., The Rev. Gifford H. Johnson, M.A., Miss A. C. Knox, The Rev. A. J. Nast, D.D., The Rev. C. Neill, M.A., B.D., Miss F. E. Newton, The Rev. H. G. Peile, Miss Violet H. Thorold, Mrs. N. H. Welch, Major P. J. Wiseman.

ANNUAL REPORT.

8. *Number of Members and Associates.*

The following statement shows the number of supporters of the Institute at the end of December, 1919 :—

Life Members	..	..	..	..	18
Annual Members	..	..	..	..	73
Life Associates	..	..	..	..	56
Annual Associates	..	..	..	..	228
Missionary Associates	..	..	..	..	13
Library Associates	..	..	..	..	27
Total	..	..	..	..	415

showing a decrease of 17 as compared with the total number of subscribers in last year's return. Thirty new Members and Associates have joined during the year; but death has been busy in our ranks, otherwise the numbers would have shown a slight increase.

9. *Finance.*

The effects of the War have continued to make themselves felt. The only sound method of meeting this is by the incorporation of new Members and Associates. It will be noted that the actual Annual Associates outnumber the Annual Members in a proportion of more than three to one. The Council would warmly invite the co-operation of all in gaining new adherents to the Institute and urge upon these new Associates, if possible, to become Members.

10. *Special Fund.*

As was mentioned in the 1918 Report, the Council felt it necessary to take special steps to meet the financial position in which the Institute found itself, as an outcome of the War. An appeal was launched which met with an encouraging response. £306 7s. was received and our warm thanks are due to those who have thus generously come forward to meet the need. The following is the list of donors.

11. *Donations.*

Dr. J. J. Acworth, £10 10s.; Benj. Akhurst, Esq., £1 1s.; E. M. Arrowsmith, Esq., £2 2s.; A Friend, £20; Colonel A. W. C.

Bell, 10s.; The Rev. Canon D. M. Berry, £1 1s.; Miss E. H. Bolton, £10; Dr. Alfred H. Burton, £2; G. R. Christie, Esq., M.A., £1 1s.; The Rt. Hon. Lord Dunleath, £5; The Rev. Preb. Fox, M.A., £10; The Rev. Canon Girdlestone, £5 5s.; Archibald Greenlees, Esq., £1 1s.; Arthur Jessop, Esq., £5; Lt.-Col. G. Mackinlay, £5 5s.; Miss M. Mackinlay, £2 2s.; E. Walter Maunder, Esq., F.R.A.S., £2 2s.; Dr. W. H. Plaister, £3 3s.; E. J. Sewell, Esq., £2 2s.; Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., £10; Miss C. Tindall, £1 1s.; F. P. Trench, Esq., F.R.C.S., £1 1s.; W. Duncan White, Esq., £5; C. E. Baring Young, Esq., £200.

12. *Auditors.*

The Council desire to tender to Messrs. Lance Gray and G. Avenell their warm thanks for their services as Auditors, continued through another year.

13. *Gunning Prize.*

The award of the Gunning Prize was allotted this year, according to the notice published in last year's report, to the best book, published within the previous three years, in accord with the objects and aims of the Victoria Institute. After careful consideration it was decided by the Council to divide a sum of £70 between the Rev. A. H. Finn (£40) for his book "The Unity of the Pentateuch," and Sir Bertram C. A. Windle, F.R.S. (£30), President of University College, Cork, for his work, "The Church and Science."

14.

The year has been marked by the appearance in pamphlet form of seven important lectures read before the Institute in previous years.

1. "The Problem of Nature." By the Rev. G. F. Whidborne, M.A.
2. "Modern Conceptions of the Universe." By G. F. C. Searle, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.
3. "The First Chapter of Genesis." By E. Walter Maunder, Esq., F.R.A.S.
4. "Creation or Evolution." By Walter Kidd, Esq., M.D., F.Z.S.
5. "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament." By the Rev. Parker P. Fournoy, D.D.

6. { "Indications of a Scheme in the Universe." By the
Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
"Luminaries and Life in Connection with the Genesis
Account of Creation." By the Rev. A. Irving,
D.Sc., B.A.

This was made possible by the most generous intervention of one of the Life Associates of the Institute, through whom a sum of £200 was subscribed, with this special object in view. The best thanks of the Council are herewith conveyed to the kind donor. Members and Associates are warmly invited to obtain copies of these up-to-date and authoritative treatises on questions which are agitating the minds of men to-day and to circulate them as widely as possible. Copies may be had at 4d. each at the Office, Victoria Institute, Central Buildings, S.W.

15. Conclusion.

Since the publication of the last Report the peace treaty has been signed and the nations are nominally friends once more. But there is no truce in the war with the powers of evil. Unbelief in the form of destructive criticism is unwearied in its efforts to discredit the authority of the Holy Scriptures, for the defence of which the Victoria Institute stands. It is true that the powerful apologia put forth by champions of the truth has led to changes of front in the enemy's ranks. Old positions have been abandoned; "assured results" have been consigned to the dust-bin of exploded fallacies, but the attacks on the truth, even, paradoxical though it may sound, "in the name of the truth," still continue and call to the defenders of the truth to close their ranks and continue their efforts. The Victoria Institute, according to its original aims and objects, desires to conduct its investigations in a reverent spirit, keeping in touch with the latest advances in Science and Research, and in humble faith in God, to combat the prevalent unbelief and "pseudo-science" of the day.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

HALSBURY.

CASH STATEMENT *for the year ending December 31st, 1919.*

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1918	.. .. .	Printing	267 17 10
Subscriptions	400 1 0	Reporting	2 15 8
Sales .. .. .	.. .. .	Stationery	17 11 10
Dividends	38 17 7	Binding	1 10 0
Income Tax refunded	8 15 0	Salary	144 18 3*
Gunning Fund (for expenses)	9 11 10	Rent, Light, Cleaning, etc.	67 14 7*
Interest on Deposit account	10 10 0	Postage	27 11 2
Draft from C. McLary, Esq., U.S.A.	6 19 0	Expenses of Meetings	4 6 11
Deficit charged to Special Appeal Fund ..	2 17 0	Life Assurance	3 2 3
	72 2 10	Library	10 18 7
		Bank Charges	0 14 0
		Fire Insurance	0 12 0
		Sundries	3 9 6
		Part deposit account interest reversed ..	0 0 7
		Draft on U.S.A. not cashed	1 1 0
			<u>£554 4 2</u>

PRIZE FUND.

GUNNING		PRIZE FUND.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance from 1918..	75 17 11	Jan. Advertising	7 18 6
Jan. 2nd. Dividend	5 6 8	Sept. 22nd. A. E. Montague	2 2 0
April 15th. Income Tax refunded	16 14 4	Victoria Institute	10 10 0
July 2nd. Dividend	12 2 3	Sept. 26th. Rev. A. H. Finn	40 0 0
		" 29th. Sir Bertram Windle	30 0 0
		Balance at Bank	19 10 8
	<u>£110 1 2</u>		<u>£110 1 2</u>

TRACT FUND.

	£ s. d.	SPECIAL APPEAL FUND.	
Donation	200 0 0	Donations	£ s. d.
			306 7 0
	<u>£200 0 0</u>		<u>£306 7 0</u>

There is Capital Sum of £500 2½ per cent. Consols, also the Capital of the Gunning Trust Fund, £508 Great India Peninsular Railway Stock.

January 30th, 1920.

Deficit from General a/c 72 2 10
Balance at Bank .. 234 4 2
£306 7 0

H. LANCE GRAY. } Auditors.
G. AVENEILL.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1920, AT
3 P.M.

LIEUT.-COL. G. MACKINLAY, VICE-PRESIDENT,
TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, held on March 17th, 1919, were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY was then called upon to read the notice convening the Meeting, and to present the Report and Annual Accounts. As the Report had been circulated, the Hon. Secretary suggested that it might be taken as read, but would be glad to emphasize one or two points, the first being what he would call the illusions of peace, on p. 1. The Council, though at no time deceived by the promise of a new earth put forward by our respected rulers, did hope that things, which had been dislocated by the war, would soon right themselves; but their experience had been that this could only be looked for as the gradual effect of patient and united effort on the part of all. The number of Members and Associates had fallen by seventeen below the previous year, through death and other causes; against this he placed the fact that in the first two months of the present year more Members and Associates had joined than during the whole of last year. Besides this, the satisfactory attendances at the opening Meeting of the current Session were an augury of better things in store for the Institute. Might not some few Associates help by becoming Members, and enjoy the additional advantage of so doing?

The CHAIRMAN emphasized the points already raised as to the need of more Members and more united effort, but also dwelt on the

encouraging features of increased membership and attendance. He also referred to the generous response given last year to the Special Appeal for £500, of which over £300 had been received, and to the issue of six "Tracts for New Times"—being reprints of Institute lectures, ably condensed by Dr. Schofield. The sale has already been most encouraging, and our best thanks are due to the generous donor, himself a Life Associate, whose gift of £200 alone made this issue possible. The Chairman also announced the intended appointment of an Incorporated Accountant as Auditor of the Institute, in accord with modern business procedure. He also announced that, after accepting election as Chairman for ten years, he was obliged for health reasons to withdraw his candidature, but that Dr. Schofield had been unanimously elected Chairman, and Mr. A. W. Oke Deputy Chairman. In closing, the Chairman introduced the four Members of Council elected since our last Meeting, Dr. Ernest Masterman, Mr. Theodore Roberts, Lt.-Colonel F. A. Molony, O.B.E., late R.E., and Lt.-Colonel Hope Biddulph, D.S.O., R.F.A., and also referred to the good work of our Secretary, Mr. A. E. Montague, so long associated with the Institute.

Mr. J. NORMAN HOLMES then moved the first resolution :—

"That the Report and statement of accounts for the year 1919 herewith submitted, be adopted, and that the thanks of the Meeting be tendered to the Council and Officers for the efficient manner in which they have carried on the affairs of the Institute during the past year, and also to Messrs. H.

- Lance Gray and G. Avenell, the Honorary Auditors, for having kindly audited the accounts once more."

Mr. HOLMES thought a word ought to be added to the Resolution, and that was the word "cordial" to thanks. Few knew how much thought and effort lay behind the carrying on of a work like that of the Institute. He urged Members to back up the Council to the best of their power. This was seconded by Miss C. PEARCE and carried unanimously.

Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD then moved the second resolution :—

"That the following retiring Members of Council be re-elected, Mr. T. B. Bishop, Mr. H. Lance Gray, the Rev. Chancellor Lias, M.A., and Dr. T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S., and

that Mr. William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S., and Colonel C. W. R. St. John, late R.E., be elected on the Council, also that Dr. Handley Moule, Bishop of Durham, be elected Vice-President of the Institute.

Dr. SCHOFIELD warmly recommended these names for election, and expressed special pleasure that Dr. Moule, so long connected with the Society, had consented to be proposed as a Vice-President. His high influence and authority could not help being a great additional strength to the Institute.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. PREBENDARY FOX, and carried unanimously.

Dr. SCHOFIELD next proposed a vote of thanks to Colonel Mackinlay for presiding, and expressed his unfeigned and deep-felt appreciation, which he felt sure would be shared by those present, of the extraordinary work which Colonel Mackinlay had accomplished on behalf of the Institute during the last ten years. He deeply regretted that the Colonel should feel obliged, for reasons of health, to relinquish the post he had so ably fitted, and expressed the hope that he would soon be restored to his usual health.

This was carried unanimously, and the Meeting was declared closed.

612TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1919,
AT 4.30 P.M.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the Election was announced of the Rev. John Maurice Turner as an Associate.

The HON. SECRETARY then gave notice that owing to the withdrawal by Bishop Weldon of his paper on "Spiritualism," Mr. Arthur W. Sutton, a member of the Council, had kindly consented to deliver a lecture on "The Ruined Cities of Palestine, East and West of the Jordan," illustrated by lantern slides from his own photographs, but that at the last moment he found himself under doctor's orders to cancel all engagements. Under the circumstances Dr. Ernest W. G. Masterman, long resident physician in Jerusalem, and Hon. Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, had most kindly consented to take his place.

The CHAIRMAN, after a few introductory remarks, called upon Dr. Masterman to deliver the lecture. This he proceeded to do, covering the same ground as Mr. Sutton intended to do, and utilizing the same slides.

Dr. MASTERMAN (Hon. Secretary, Palestine Exploration Fund), showed beautifully-coloured slides (of Mr. Sutton's) illustrating the following tour through Palestine, which he fully described in a most interesting lecture, parts of which are incorporated in the following paper.

The tour commenced at Beyrout, and continued south through Tyre and Sidon. Thence to Safed in Galilee down to the Sea of Tiberias, across the Jordan, south of the lake, up the Yarmuk Gorge to the site of ancient Gadara, thence to Beit er-Ras, the site of Capitolias, and on to Daraa, where once stood Edrei, the capital city of Og, King of Bashan. The great importance of this city and its famous underground passages, where the inhabitants took refuge from the Arabs, were fully described. Thence the journey went south to Jerash, the ancient Gerasa, of which many views were shown. Ammon, the ancient Rabbath-Ammon, later called Philadelphia, was next visited. Then to Madeba, with its mosaic map of the country, and Mount Nebo; and then to the Jordan, past the Springs of Moses. After crossing the Jordan the route lay through Bethany, skirting the walls of Jerusalem, to Hebron, and on to Beit Jibrin and the ancient Gezer, and so to Jaffa. The views of Gezer illustrated the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The following is the description of the tour.

*THE RUINED CITIES OF PALESTINE, EAST AND WEST
OF THE JORDAN.* By ARTHUR W. SUTTON, ESQ., J.P.,
F.L.S. (Illustrated by lantern slides.)

THE view of Beyrout as we enter the harbour is most beautiful. The foreshore, covered with red-tiled houses, is backed by groves of mulberry and pomegranate trees; and behind these are the sloping hillsides terraced with the cultivation of vines and olives, with the mountains of Lebanon in the distance covered with snow.

After crossing for some miles very soft plains, once vineyards and oliveyards, but now a sandy desert with a few pines, planted a hundred years ago by the Governor of Beyrout to consolidate the soil, we come to the River Damur and then to the orange groves round Sidon, second only to those at Jaffa. Sidon is not only the most ancient city of Phœnicia, but one of the oldest of the known cities of the world, and is said by Josephus to have been built by Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, and is mentioned with high praise by Homer in the *Iliad*, where he says that as early as the Trojan War the Sidonian mariners, having provoked the enmity of the Trojans, were by them despoiled of the gorgeous robes manufactured by Sidon's daughters, these being considered so valuable and precious as to propitiate the goddess of war in their favour. Sidon was renowned for its skill in arts, science and literature, maritime commerce, and architecture; and according to Strabo the Sidonians were celebrated for astronomy, geometry, navigation and philosophy.

Sidon was captured by Shalmaneser in 720 B.C., and it was again taken in 350 B.C. by Artaxerxes Ochus. It fell to Alexander the Great without a struggle, and afterwards came into possession successively of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies. During the time of the Crusaders Sidon was four times taken, plundered, and dismantled. Excavations have revealed several rock-hewn tombs, with elaborately carved sarcophagi. The most celebrated is the sarcophagus of Alexander, which before the war was in the mosque at Constantinople. He was certainly never buried in it. A sarcophagus was opened the other day at Sidon, full of fluid and containing a beautiful body in perfect preservation, but immediately it was lifted from the fluid it lost all shape.

At Zarephath we saw the churning of butter in a leather bag full of milk, which is swayed backwards and forwards until it is formed.

This is the site of Sarepta, where Elijah raised the widow's son to life (1 Kings xvii, 8-24); and near here, on the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, our Lord healed the daughter of the Canaanitish woman.

We next approach Tyre, now called Sur, from which the name of Syria is derived—Syria really meaning the land of the Tyrians or Surians. The origin of Tyre is lost in the mist of centuries, and Isaiah says its "antiquity is of ancient days" (xxiii, 7). Herodotus states it was founded about 2300 years before his time, *i.e.*, 2750 B.C. William of Tyre declares it was called after the name of its founder, "Tyros, who was the seventh son of Japhet, the son of Noah." Strabo spoke of it as the most considerable city of all Phœnicia. Sidon was certainly the more ancient city of the two, but Tyre by far the more celebrated and one of the greatest cities of antiquity. It was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar for thirty years. The siege of the city by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. was the most remarkable and disastrous episode in the history of Tyre. The island city held out for seven months, but was finally captured by being united to the mainland by a mole formed of the stones, timber and rubbish of old Tyre on the shore, which were conveyed into position by the Grecian army. Then the island was made a peninsula, in which form it exists at the present day. This siege was so remarkable a fulfilment of the prophecies of Ezekiel that the words of the Hebrew prophet read more like a history than a prediction. "Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against thee, O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up. And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her and make her a bare rock. She shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God: and she shall become a spoil to the nations . . . and they shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise: and they shall break down thy walls and destroy thy pleasant houses: and they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the waters" (Ezek. xxvi, 3-5, 12).

In more modern times the city was taken by the Mohammedans,

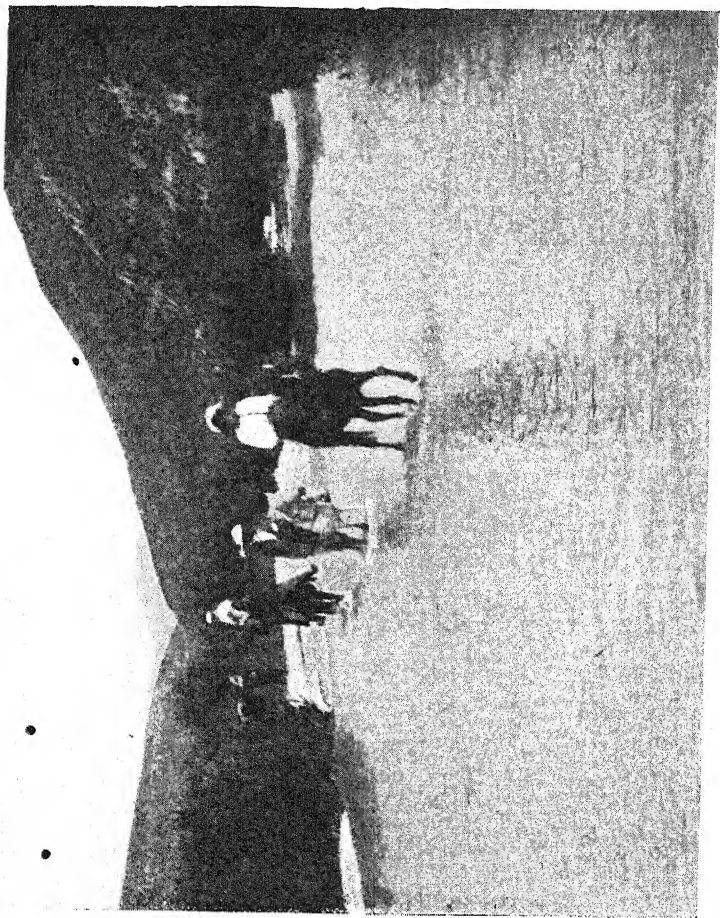
the lives and property of the inhabitants being spared on condition that there should be "no building of new churches, no ringing of bells, no riding on horseback, and no insults to the Moslem religion." Tyre was retaken by the Christians in 1124, but once more fell into Moslem hands at the final collapse of the Crusades in 1291. It was then almost entirely destroyed, and the place has never since recovered, though of late years there have been signs of a slight revival of commerce, and the city is gradually becoming more populous. In the middle of the last century it had fallen so low that Hasselquist, a traveller, found but ten inhabitants in the place!

The ruins which are now found in the peninsula are those of Crusaders' or Saracenic work. The city of the Crusaders lies several feet beneath the debris, and below that are the remains of the Mohammedan and early Christian Tyre. The ancient capital of the Phœnicians lies far, far down beneath the superincumbent ruins.

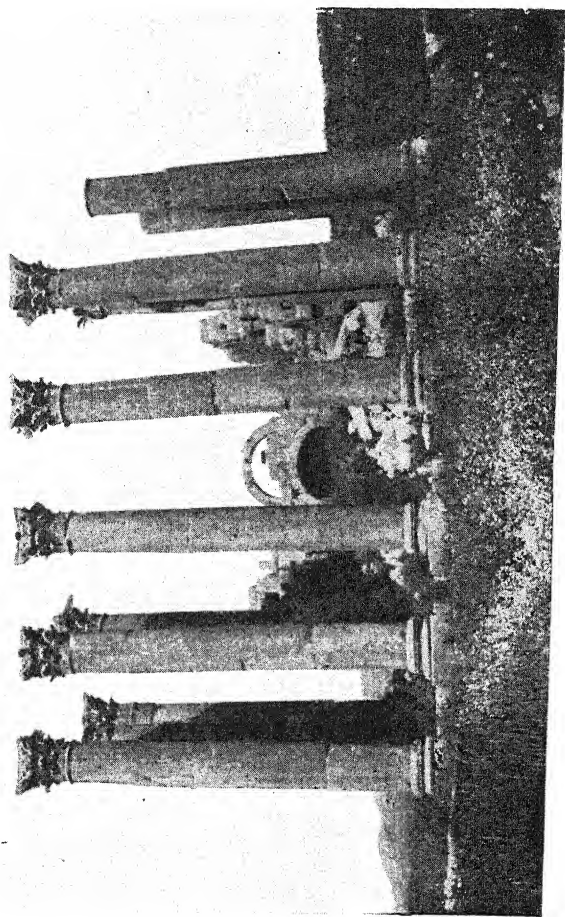
The ancient glory of Tyre has been described in Ezekiel with a graphic power of description and minute accuracy of detail which is scarcely equalled in the annals of literature. Strabo ascribes the prosperity of Tyre to two causes—"partly to navigation, in which the Phœnicians have at all times surpassed other nations, and partly to their purple, for the Tyrian purple is acknowledged to be the best; the fishing for this purpose is carried on not far off." The far-famed Tyrian dye was extracted from the glands of a peculiar species of shell-fish (*Murex trunculus*). Pliny says that the reason why Tyre was so famous in ancient times was "for its offspring, the cities to which it gave birth."

Nearly the whole of ancient Tyre now lies buried fathoms deep beneath the surface of the sea, the only thing remaining visible now of the ancient city being an enormous mass of magnificent granite and marble columns and ruins, which lie in the northern harbour, submerged by the sea, but distinctly visible when the water is clear. Thus, literally, have Tyre's stones and dust been hid "in the midst of the waters." "What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?" (Ezek. xxvii, 32).

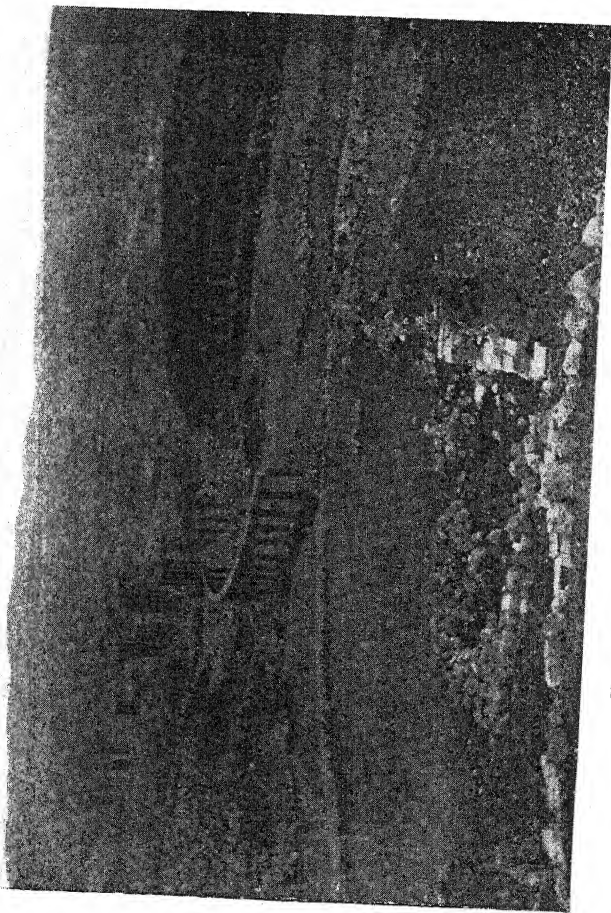
Passing up the Wady Ashur, one of the most picturesque and interesting ravines in Syria, we find ourselves in the region of the wonderful Phœnician rock-sculptures and tombs, and



I.—FORDING THE RIVER JABBOK.



II.—TEMPLE OF THE SUN AT JERASH.



III.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE RUINS AT JERASH.



IV.—PROFESSOR MACALISTER'S EXCAVATIONS AT GEZER.

camp at Tibnin, whose fine large castle has been the chief feature of the landscape for some two hours before we arrive. The castle was founded by Hugh de St. Omer, Count of Tiberias, about 1104.

The second day's ride brings us to Safed, one of the four sacred cities of the Jews, occupying a conspicuous position on the summit and slopes of a lofty mountain, and supposed to be the place referred to when our Lord said, "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v, 14). To-day it contains about 15,000 inhabitants—9000 Jews, 6000 Moslems, and a few Christians. Like many other towns of Palestine, it is filthy beyond description. It was almost entirely destroyed by the great earthquake of 1837, when great numbers of the inhabitants perished. Baldwin III fled here after his defeat in 1157, and Saladin captured it after the battle of Hattin in 1187.

We now reach Tiberias. It has a population of about 6000, of whom 4000 are Jews, 300 Christians, and the rest Moslems, and is one of the four sacred cities of the Jews in Palestine. The earlier city of Tiberias was spoken of by Joshua (xix, 35) under the name of Rakkath. The Roman city was built by Herod Antipas, and dedicated by him to the Emperor Tiberias (A.D. 16). After the battle of Hattin, 1187, Tiberias fell into the hands of Saladin.

The Hammam or hot baths (temperature 144° F.) are to the south of the city, and are visited by people from all parts of the country. They occupy the site of Hammath, spoken of by Joshua (xix, 35) and by Pliny. Our Lord never entered Tiberias, as, according to early tradition, it was built on an ancient cemetery.

We now proceed round the foot of the lake, and up the gorge of the Yarmuk, from Tiberias to Deraa. Following the caravan road down the western side of the lake we come to an old ruined bridge over the Jordan, about a mile south of where it flows out of the Sea of Galilee, and ford the river on horseback; and after crossing the railway from Haifa to Deraa and Damascus at the station of Semakh, we follow the railway up the gorge of the River Yarmuk to the hot springs of Amatha. These springs are eight in number, some of them several miles up the valley, but the principal ones are close to a place called El Hamma. Their temperatures are 115°, 103°, 92° and 83° F. respectively. The principal spring is in a basin, about 40 feet in

circumference and 5 feet deep. The water is so hot that the hand cannot be kept in it for any length of time, and is considered by the Arabs to be a sovereign cure for many disorders. Herod is supposed to have come here to be cured, and the Baths of Amatha were considered by the Romans as second only to those of Baia, and were much extolled by Eusebius and other ancient writers.

From the hot springs we climb up by a very steep pathway by the side of the gorge to Gadara, occupying a magnificent site on the western promontory of the plateau overlooking the Lake of Tiberias. Captured by Antiochus the Great, 218 B.C., it was, twenty years afterwards, taken from the Syrians by Alexander Jannæus after a siege of ten months. The Jews retained possession of it for some time, but, the city having been destroyed during their civil wars, it was rebuilt by Pompey to gratify the desire of one of his freedmen, who was a Gadarene. It was surrendered to Vespasian in the Jewish war. It was one of the most important cities east of the Jordan and called by Josephus the capital of Peræa, and was subsequently the seat of the bishopric Palestina Secunda.

The ruins of the two open-air theatres still exist, one with a full view of the Lake of Galilee in the distance below. There are enormous quantities of tombs everywhere, by which the neighbourhood is honeycombed, many of these having massive basalt doors which still swing on their hinges. More than 200 stone sarcophagi have been taken out of these tombs, and now lie scattered among the ruins of the city.

At Beit er-Ras we come on very extensive ruins—arches of great size, columns, Corinthian and Ionic capitals, chiefly composed of basalt; a vast subterranean ruin, with several fine arches underground. Inscriptions, chiefly Nabathean, are to be found among the ruins. This was a city of great importance in the Roman Empire, and has been identified with Capitolias, one of the cities of the Decapolis.

We now reach Deraa or Dera'a (old Edrei), which to-day is a junction where passengers dine on the railway journey to Damascus; it is a remarkable place, for at least four cities exist here one above another. The present Arab buildings are on the top of a Græco-Roman city, and this again stands on the remains of one still older, in which bevelled stones are used. Beneath this again is a troglodyte city entirely excavated in the rock on which the upper cities stand, the subterranean

residence of King Og. The following passages of Scripture refer to Edrei :—

“Og, the King of Bashan, went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei” (Num. xxi, 33). “Moses . . . after he had smitten . . . Og the King of Bashan which dwelt in Ashtaroth at Edrei” (Deut. i, 4). “Salecah and Edrei, cities of the Kingdom of Og” (Deut. iii, 10).

The most prominent of the ruins, covering a circuit of two miles, are those of a large reservoir of Roman times, fed by a great aqueduct. There is a building, 44 by 31 yards, with a double colonnade, evidently a Christian cathedral but now a mosque. The most notable remains, however, are the caves beneath the citadel. They form a subterranean city, a labyrinth of streets with shops and houses, and a market-place. This probably dates in its present elaborate form from Greek times, but such refuges must always have been the feature of a land so swept by Arab tribes. The Crusaders who besieged it called it Adratum (*Encyclopædia Biblica*).

Merril writes : “When King Baldwin III (1144-1162) and his Crusaders made their wild chase to Bozrah, they went by way of Dra’a. The weather was hot, and the army was suffering terribly for want of water, but as often as they let down their buckets by means of ropes into the cisterns, men concealed on the inside of the cisterns would cut the ropes and thus defeat their efforts.” Probably the underground city has connection with all the important cisterns of the place.

From Edrei we travel to Jerash, or Gerasa, which is a city of stupendous ruins, second only to Palmyra in size and importance, and second only to Baalbec in beauty of architecture. In many respects it surpasses them both, and as a perfect specimen of an ancient Grecian city it has no equal. These ruins, says Dr. Tristran, “in number, in beauty of situation and in isolation, were by far the most striking and interesting I had yet seen in Syria.” The later name, Philadelphia, was given to the city by Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), King of Egypt, who rebuilt the city in the third century B.C. Greek immigration flowed into Syria after the conquest of Alexander the Great. The Greeks gradually extended beyond Jordan, sometimes occupying the old sites and sometimes building new cities, as at Jerash.

According to Pliny, Gerasa was one of the original ten cities of the Decapolis. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny

and other Greek and Roman writers, but no details are given of its history. We are informed that it was noted for its men of learning, and that it was the "Alexandria of Decapolis." It does not seem to correspond to any Old Testament site. The Crusaders made a campaign against it, in trying to form an eastern frontier for the Holy Land.

Exactly how or when the city was destroyed is not known. After going down in the Mohammedan invasion, it was probably left deserted for hundreds of years, because the state of the ruins after seven hundred years points clearly to the action of an earthquake and not the hand of man. An Arabian geographer, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, describes Gerasa as deserted. Hence we have here a Greek or Roman town standing as it was left seven hundred, if not twelve hundred, years ago.

High above the Peribolos or Forum, on a rocky knoll, supported and surrounded by a massive substructure, stands the ruin of a great temple, whose superb situation commands the whole town and looks straight north along the colonnaded street. The walls of this temple are $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

Outside the city, says Dr. Green, there are the remains of a naumachia or theatre, for the representation of naval spectacles, consisting of a vast stone reservoir 700 feet by 300 feet, surrounded by tiers of seats and supplied by conduits.

Not very far off is the site of the great and important city of Rabbath-Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites, who, with the Moabites, are said to have been descended from Lot. These two nations drove out the gigantic aboriginal inhabitants east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. Rabbath-Ammon is first mentioned in Deut. iii, 11, as the place where the "iron bedstead" of the giant King of Bashan was deposited; but it is celebrated chiefly for the siege against it by the Israelites under Joab, when Uriah the Hittite was slain—the blackest spot in David's history.

There are the ruins of a theatre in good preservation, with forty-eight tiers of seats calculated to hold 6000 people, and so admirably arranged that, as may be tested to this day, ordinary conversation on the stage could be distinctly heard on the topmost semicircle.

Joab first took "the city of the waters"—that is, evidently, the lower town, along the banks of the river. But the citadel still held out, therefore messengers were sent to David asking

for a reinforcement and the presence of the King himself, in consequence of which David went in person and captured the citadel, with an immense quantity of spoil. In the third century B.C. the city was rebuilt by Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, and called Philadelphia, under which name it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman writers. There are the remains of a large Christian church in the lower city.

The exterior walls of the citadel are constructed of large stones closely jointed, without cement, bearing in places the marks of high antiquity. The most interesting building on the citadel hill appears to be a specimen of the Sassanian architecture of Persia, probably dating from the same period as the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. The panelling and scroll-work on the walls is very beautiful and perfect, closely allied to Assyrian work. These buildings form a link between the Byzantine architecture and that of Persia.

We next reach what is evidently the site of Medaba, a city of the Moabites, taken by Joshua and given, with its plain, to the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxi, 30; Josh. xiii, 9, 16). It was on the plain east of the city that Joab defeated the combined forces of Ammon and Syria, avenging the insult offered to the ambassadors of King David (1 Chron. xix).

Madeba was recaptured by the Moabites at the Captivity, and is therefore included in the prophetic curse pronounced upon Moab in Isa. xv, 2. It was an important fortress during the rule of the Maccabees, and it became an episcopal city in the early centuries of our era. Here was discovered a large tessellated map of Palestine.

Not far from Madeba is Dibon, which is now nothing more than a shapeless mass of ruins, but obtained a new celebrity in 1868 by the discovery of the Moabite Stone, containing a long inscription in which is recorded some of the acts of that King Mesha who is mentioned in 2 Kings iii. The inscription is in the old Phœnician character, and appears to be of the age of Mesha. The stone was unfortunately broken by the Arabs, but most of the fragments are now in the Louvre.

Mount Nebo runs out westward from the plateau with a narrow ridge, at the end of which is the summit, Pisgah, and the ascent to this ridge is Sufa or Zophim. Here we stand on a site rendered memorable by two important events connected with the history of the Israelitish occupation of Canaan. Hither Balak brought Balaam to curse the people (Num. xxii-xxiv),

and hence Moses viewed the Promised Land (Deut. xxxiv, 1). But towards the west, in the direction which Moses surveyed, there is a very wide and extensive view. The mountain ranges of Judea lie straight before us, with Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Frank Mountain clearly visible. The Russian Tower on the Mount of Olives and the summit of Neby Samwil are conspicuous objects in their midst. To the south-west is seen the ridge of Beni N'aim, near Hebron, whence Abraham beheld the smoke of the burning cities of the plain, whilst north of Olivet is seen the cone-shaped hill of Ophrah. The hills of Samaria are yet farther to the right, with Tell 'Asur—the ancient Baal-Hazor—Ebal, Gerizim and Bezek prominent amongst them. Gilboa, Tabor and the heights beyond Beisan are visible on a clear day; but Carmel and Hermon are hidden from view, the former by the intervening heights of Jebel Hazkin, on which stands Bezek, and the latter by Neby Osh'a. The whole of the Jordan valley, with the river itself meandering in serpent-like curves in its midst, lies outspread like a map at our feet, bathed in sunny verdure in early spring, at which time of the year Moses appears to have viewed it. From north to south "the land of Gilead towards Dan, Naphtali, Ephraim and Manasseh—all the land of Judah, towards the utmost sea (the Mediterranean), the southern hills, and the plain of Jericho" (Deut. xxxiv, 1-3)—all these the aged "servant of God" could embrace within the compass of his vision, without the aid of any miraculous powers.

Hebron, which we next reach after crossing the Jordan and passing south by Bethany and Jerusalem, is one of the oldest cities of the world. It was known at the time of its capture by the Israelites under Joshua as Kirjath-Arba, which means the "Fourfold City." Probably, like Jerusalem at the present day, it was divided into four quarters, inhabited respectively by different races of people. The Septuagint describes it as the "Metropolis of the Anakim."

It is known as "City of Abraham, the Friend of God," to the Arabs, who have abbreviated the name to El Khalif—"The Friend" or "The Beloved." It is one of the four sacred cities of the Moslems.

Haram: Cave of Machpelah. Travellers are not admitted within the precincts of this mosque, though a few royal European visitors have been privileged to enter this most cherished Moslem sanctuary by special *Irade* of the Sultan. This is one of the

"Sacred Sites" of Palestine, about the genuineness of which there can be little or no doubt. It is almost certain that the mosque stands over the original Cave of Machpelah, which was the burial-place of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah. The mosque itself was originally a Christian church founded by Justinian in the sixth century, and completed by the Crusaders. It has, however, been considerably altered by the Moslems. There are six monuments, said to stand over the spots where the tombs of the six male and female patriarchs are located in the cave below. The Crusaders, impressed by the veneration accorded to the Cave of Machpelah by the Arabs, who claim to be the sons of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar, called the place the Castle of St. Abraham.

Hebron was at one time the capital of King David. He made it the base of his operations against Jerusalem, which in turn became his royal city. Absalom made it the headquarters of the unsuccessful rebellion against his father. Hebron lost importance after the Captivity, and in the time of the Romans it was hardly reckoned as being a Jewish town. The large square stone reservoir, now called the "Sultan's Reservoir," is the Pool of Hebron, where Rechab and Baanah, the murderers of Ishbosheth, were hanged by David (2 Sam. iv, 12). There is little else to see in Hebron, with the exception of the glass-works.

Beit-Jibrîn (House of Gabriel) was in the much contested borderland between the Hebrews and the Philistines. It was known to the Israelites as Mareshah, and was fortified by Rehoboam, who "built cities for defence, Gath and Mareshah" (2 Chron. xi, 8).

This district was at some time inhabited by people who devoted an almost incalculable amount of time and trouble to the formation of great artificial caves. The result of this energy is concentrated as in a nucleus in the immediate neighbourhood of Beit-Jibrîn. It is difficult to give an account of the principal excavations of this type without appearing to use the language of exaggeration. Except for their immense size, the Beit-Jibrîn caves are of comparatively small interest. Prof. G. A. Smith (see his entrancing volume on the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*) and others adopted the view that the caves as we see them are the work of the Early Christian inhabitants of Palestine, because of the destruction of Jewish tombs in the course of cutting out the caves, the various Kufic and Christian inscriptions on the walls, etc. It

was the seat of a Christian Bishop as early as the fourth century. The Crusaders, who were powerfully established at Beit-Jibrin, which they called Gibelin, beautified one cave by a handsome Romanesque doorway.

To sum up the subject of the "Riddle of the Caves" in the district round Beit-Jibrin, there is an innumerable number of artificial caves. The date of a few of these is later than the Jewish period; a few others are demonstrably earlier than the end of the Jewish monarchy, and there is Scriptural evidence that similar caves existed at an earlier date still (Judges vi, 2): "Because of Midian the Children of Israel *made them* the dens which are in the mountains and the caves and the strongholds." This shows that such artificial caves were made in the times of the Judges for refuges. Certain chambers were prepared as cisterns, store-chambers, etc. There is no means of dating such chambers. Other chambers were used for religious rites, filters, prisons, quarries, traps for wild beasts, etc.

We next reach Gezer. The site of this famous ancient city had been forgotten in modern times until about 1870, when Prof. Clermont-Ganneau commenced his research. Biblical records of the city commence with the time of Joshua. Its king, Horam, helped Lachish against Joshua's attack, and he and his army were utterly annihilated (Josh. x, 33). Gezer was allotted to Ephraim who, however, failed to drive the Canaanites out (Judges i, 29). Other historical sources carry us back to the time of Thothmes III, who captured it about 1500 B.C., though the excavations prove the history of Gezer to go back a further 1500 years, of which there is no written history.

Canaanites, Israelites, Arabs, all have successively inhabited the mound through the centuries. We read in 1 Chron. xx, 4, of Philistine giants whom David's men slew at Gezer. The Canaanites lingered on in Gezer till the reign of Solomon. When Solomon celebrated his marriage with the daughter of the King of Egypt, the Pharaoh "went up and took Gezer and burnt it with fire and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and gave it for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife" (1 Kings ix, 16).

Two tables which have lately been found give evidence of an Assyrian occupation of Gezer. Gezer had varying fortunes during the wars of the Jews and the Syrians. About 160 B.C. it was captured by the Syrians and afterwards recaptured by Simon Maccabæus, the great High Priest, who fortified it, and

built himself a dwelling-place, which has lately been discovered. The history of Gezer stretches on through Roman, Crusader and Arab periods.

From the excavations we get an idea of the primitive religious customs which Israel met with on their entry into Palestine, the idolatry and the moral abominations, and from the discoveries made it is easy to see why the worship of the High Place was so fiercely denounced. The evidence of the wholesale sacrifice of children, the images found testifying to the licentiousness pervading the whole worship, the evidences of bodies sawn asunder, and other savageries, all throw a lurid light on the "iniquity of the Amorite."

We next reach Jaffa, whence we embark on our way to England, and thus our delightful tour is brought to an end.

DISCUSSION.

Prebendary FOX : I will not detain you for more than a minute or two, but I cannot let the meeting go further without expressing thanks to Dr. Masterman for his very able lecture, and for explaining the slides to us with such admirable skill. I am sure we shall not forget this meeting for a long time. I move a vote of thanks to Dr. Masterman.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS : I have much pleasure in seconding this. Can you tell me with relation to the Mosque of Omar whether it is to be taken from the Turks and given to the Jews ?

The SECRETARY announced the next meeting of the Institute would take place on January 19th in the same room, when Dr. Schofield, to whom our very best thanks are due for taking the Chair to-day at a moment's notice, will give us a Lecture on "The Psychology of the Female Mind," which will be of great interest to all men and of curious interest to all ladies.

Mr. MARTIN ROUSE : May I ask a question about Gezer ? I read an account of Dr. Macalister's discovery at the time of the bodies of little children, and I heard a lecturer in America dispute the fact that these children were sacrificed on the ground that there was no injury found to the skeletons. There was no sign of charring or anything to prove that they were sacrificed.

Mr. MASTERMAN : I think the inference was that the bodies were put there for some ritual. There had been a regular flooring made

of stamped and dried earth, and under that floor the skeletons were found placed in a deliberate line on the base of these stones, so that I think there can be no doubt that there was some ritual connected with it. I do not think there was any sign of burning, but the argument that there was no injury found would be no argument. We have many indications that it was connected with the killing of the first-born. It is certain that they were new-born babes. The bones were undoubtedly those of new-born babes. They used to get rid of their old relatives in the same way, and so combined sacrifice and economy.

Dr. SCHOFIELD: May I ask one question? In the Cathedral of Prague there was shown me a chest containing the bones of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Knowing that Mahommedans guarded the Tomb of Machpelah, how could Charles IV have got hold of the bones of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? Then one of the pictures had great interest for me: the picture of the wall which had tumbled down. We have recovered the site of Jericho, and we have a very tolerable idea of what they would be like.

Dr. MASTERMAN: The remains of Jericho have been examined and the walls were all mud and they stood quite apart from one another.

Dr. SCHOFIELD: Although the meeting is closed I may say that I happened to be at Jericho when the walls were uncovered by Dr. Sellin, and when I dined with him I asked him about the walls of Jericho, and he said they had found the top of the wall of Jericho in the bottom of the ditch outside, so that the walls fell into the ditch. They are of dried mud. I found the 'house on the wall,' for there is only one, and I sat on the lintel of the window where probably 'the scarlet line' was attached by which the two spies descended into the deep ditch outside. With regard to the sudden fall of the wall, it seems to me that in His miraculous interposition, God does not use supernatural means when natural means are sufficient to accomplish His purpose. When Joshua marched round Jericho seven times there can be no doubt that the walls were crowded with the inhabitants of Jericho watching the spectacle with intense interest, for they had learnt that Joshua was not marching for a hostile purpose. All was done in silence until there was the

shout and the blast, and then these walls, about 3 feet thick at the base, shared the fate of the Hyde Park railings when the mob in Park Lane threw them over on the grass. I think the walls fell down from the tremendous pressure behind, and that the people of Jericho themselves not only laid the city bare, 'but filled up the ditch outside. All fell, except the house which was built on the wall.

By the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Sutton we are able to reproduce four of the slides used; and perhaps the following notes on them may be of interest.

The first gives Mr. Sutton's party crossing the Jabbok shortly before its junction with the Jordan. This famous boundary between Sihon, King of the Amorites, on the south, and Og, King of Bashan, on the north, is extremely beautiful, fringed with cane and oleander and bordered with oak-forests. In winter it is impassable, receiving so many tributaries from the mountain behind. The meeting of Jacob and Esau here will be remembered by all. Two principal tributaries, that bring down a great volume of water in the winter, from Gerasa and Rabbath-Ammon respectively, join it higher up. Respecting the latter, the royal city (2 Sam. xii. 26, 27) of the Ammonites, Prof. T. K. Cheyne takes great exception to its being called "the city of waters," apparently another instance of the danger of criticising statements when one has never visited the locality in question—for an Eastern traveller has pointed out that if he had, he would have seen the appropriateness of the name at once. Ammân, which represents to-day the old Rabbath-Ammon, is at the junction of the river with the modern Jerka (Jabbok), and lies all along the waters. It is true the old castle (probably Rabbah) is on the hill above, but in Joab's time the city proper would lie as now, in the watered valley: and this would nullify another objection of Prof. Cheyne's. He says, "after Joab had taken the royal city, what was then left for David to take?" Of course it would be this citadel on the hill. A parallel instance is when Joshua took Jerusalem, but only 400 years afterwards did David take the Jebusite citadel (city of Zion) on the hill Ophel.

The other stream I have spoken of comes from Jerash. This wonderful city is the subject of the next two illustrations. Gerasa, or Jerash, on the extreme east of Pæraea, must not be

confounded with Gergesa on the Sea of Galilee (wrongly rendered Gadara) where the miracle of the swine took place which proved so disastrous to Prof. Huxley in his controversy with Mr. Gladstone. It will be remembered that he claimed to have proved this miracle false, and that therefore no other miracle was credible, including the Resurrection. Gerasa or Jerash is thirty or forty miles away from Gergesa, which in Roman times was one of the most famous cities of Palestine. It lies twenty-five miles north of Rabbath-Ammon. It is not mentioned in Old or New Testament. The magnificent ruins that now exist are those of the days of its greatest splendour (A.D. 138-180).

It became later the seat of a Christian bishopric. The ruins are by far the most beautiful and extensive east of the Jordan. The stream on which they are situated falls into the Jabbok about five miles below the city. This is now a little rivulet, thickly fringed with oleander, which winds through the valley, giving life and beauty to the deserted ruins.

The city was nearly a mile square, with a wall round, a large portion of which, with its bastions, is still standing. Three gateways are nearly perfect, and 230 columns still remain on their pedestals. (See Plates II and III.)

The fourth picture shows Prof. Stewart Macalister's explorations at Gezer. He has shown that this town has actually been occupied by men from the Neolithic Age down to the times of the Maccabees. There are seven distinct periods of occupation. The earliest dwellers were about 5 feet 5 inches and lived in caves and cremated their dead. In the third period they rose to 5 feet 11 inches and buried their dead. The fifth and sixth state are the Israelitish occupation. The city was rebuilt by Solomon. At first the Israelites buried an infant beneath the foundation of a house, probably alive. Later on they abhorred these rites. Then a dead infant's body was placed in a jar, and later still, bowls (with blood or grape-juice), and lambs were placed, and have been found by Prof. Macalister in great numbers.

The top stratum is Gezer after the Captivity, and here all idolatry has come to an end, and some of the great religious monoliths have been destroyed, Prof. Macalister thinks by Simon Maccabæus.

613TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, JANUARY 19TH, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

THE CHAIR WAS TAKEN BY MISS C. L. MAYNARD.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed.

The SECRETARY announced the Election of Mr. H. Maurice Smith as a Member, and the Rev. J. M. Turner, Miss E. Nowell Salmon, Dr. J. P. Brooks, Miss H. Matthews, Dr. Charles Fox and Mr. Basil Atkinson as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. Schofield to read his paper.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FEMALE MIND.

By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D.

THIS subject presents at the moment a dissolving view of great promise. Some present may remember the old dissolving views shown by the magic-lantern that charmed us so much as children, and will recall the fascinating way in which the old picture melted into the new. It is so to-day. The woman of Early Victorian days has nearly disappeared from our view, though she may still be found in remote country places: the gentle, quaint, prim yet graceful lady, with her tippet and poke-bonnets, her samplers and her still-room, all nearly as rare and precious now as flies in amber. But the new is better, and the wonder is it has been so long in developing. The coming picture is on nobler, grander lines; the gentle submission and downcast eye may not be easy to find nowadays, but they are replaced by the candid and clear look of complete emancipation, and the upright figure of the freeborn. The marvel is that with such a rapid advance there have not been more extravagances. Setting aside exceptions, nothing to me is more marvellous and delightful than the quiet, decent, self-respecting dignity of the modern latch-key young lady, living in her own rooms in London. I am quite aware that very severe

strictures not wholly undeserved have been made on her dress these last few years, but we must not confuse the causes. In all times of war, and general upheaval, a similar caprice in woman's dress has been observed, but I do not consider what so many rightly deplore, as in any way the outcome of the emancipation of our womanhood.

The remarkable lack of women's interest in their own minds is a very curious point. No doubt this is a survival of the past bad years. After careful search in the largest libraries, I can find no works on psychology written by women, save perhaps tentatively by that remarkable Swede—Ellen Key.

What I take as another survival is a decided shrinking from the general and the abstract, and a distinct preference for the particular and the concrete.

I do not emphasize these traits, for I am of opinion that in the new picture when complete they will disappear. Meanwhile, we still wait for a true concept of the female mind written by a woman. The subject is of the first importance; for it is not too much to say that the future of England largely depends on the quality of woman's mind to-day.

With regard to her body, indications are not wanting in Nature to show that women physically are her most precious asset, contrary to the usual estimate. Since the invention of tools, man's body has greatly shrunk in value; indeed, but for wars it would be still lower.

In the siege of Paris, when boys were almost exclusively born, Nature clearly showed she would not make a girl save out of good materials, whereas she made boys almost out of anything.*

In this short monograph I include in the word "mind" both intellect and spirit. While, therefore, I emphasize the importance of a good physique to the next generation of women, few will deny that with regard to her national mission the quality of her mind is of still greater importance than her body. No doubt that for the army and field labour and industrial pursuits the body of man may come first; but socially, nationally, and imperially it is the spirit of man and not his body that controls the future. I know that Eugenics and much of the trend of modern thought tends to deny this. In some proposed legislation now being considered with regard to the prevention of a certain

* See Traill, *Sexual Physiology*, p. 166; and Gamble, *Evolution of Woman*, p. 33.

contagious disease, the question really turns on whether the health or the morals of a nation are of the most importance. Of course in ultimate analysis there is no antagonism between health and morals, for they are the same—health, wholeness and holiness come from the same stock. For an answer to the false issue raised, we have but to turn to Russia and ask whether the health or the morals of the Bolsheviks are of most importance to Europe and the world.

According to Starkweather's law, "Sex is determined by the superior parent, who produces the opposite sex"; in other words, men mostly reproduce the characters of their mothers, and daughters that of their fathers. Hence, for the training of the coming race it is indubitably of supreme and national importance to the prospective mothers of the next generation that the right education of intellect and spirit should be given.

There are well-marked differences in the mental outlook of the sexes, but to me there is no question of the inferiority of the one to the other. A close examination of the psychology of the female mind, however, makes one conscious that men after all can only see it exoterically from without; and one longs and waits, as I have said, for some woman of deep insight to give us the true esoteric view.

All women are changing, and if to-day we say that the two chief differences between the male and female minds is the indifference of the latter to their own psychology and to abstract thought, we have to repeat that both these characteristics may soon disappear; for both, to a quite indefinite extent, are due to woman's cramped life in the past.

How much of the difference is permanent because arising from sex and not from environment we cannot yet estimate.

When, however, we compare the spiritual outlook of the two sexes instead of the intellectual, the task of differentiating becomes still harder. Women generally are more spiritual as well as more emotional than men; though the difference is not so well marked as in earlier ages, owing doubtless to the slow approximation in type of men and women, which in its turn, curiously enough, is due not only to the emancipation of women, but to the invention of machinery—a great leveller of sex. This seems a startling conclusion to arrive at, and one which will repay a moment's consideration.

In earlier times man's physique took up nearly all his attention, and the value of his body was supreme; and at that time a

woman's mind was better cultivated than man's, and her preponderance as a sex in spiritual matters was overwhelming. When man, however, substituted machinery for manual labour both in peace and war, in all processes of life, his bodily powers were heavily discounted, and his success in life henceforth depended upon his intellectual powers; while at the same time, relieved of constant physical exhaustion, his spiritual outlook approximated more nearly to that of women.

Since then his physical powers in which he differed most from women being comparatively negligible, the resemblance of the sexes has increased: machinery, as I have said, being a basic factor. The result is everywhere seen, and is nowhere more marked than in the typical presentment of John Bull. A hundred years and more ago our streets were filled with portly, rubicund men, stern or jovial of visage, and vastly different from the more intellectual but slightly anæmic and attenuated individuals who fill their rôle to-day. I am quite willing to admit that the substitution of tea and coffee for beer has been a minor factor in the change.

The preponderance of intuition in women and of reason in men is, I think, generally accepted; although like so many other differences, it is becoming less marked. It is correlated with the general dislike of women for prolonged arguments, which is by no means in them the mark of intellectual inferiority, as is too often hastily assumed, but is rather due to the fact that a woman, more often arriving at her conclusions intuitively *per saltum*, is impatient of the slower process of reasoning. There is another point. Man's rational conclusion, so laboriously reached, is often wrong through some defect in the premiss or in the argument, and the woman is often right by a process of which she is wholly unconscious.

The two methods, indeed, are those of the unconscious (subconscious or subliminal [Myers] mind), and the ordinary conscious mind, to which our concept of mind till lately has been restricted. Men possess intuition and instinct (a lower quality than reason), but do not trust it or use it as much as women, although its results are often the more correct. They like clearly to see "the reason why," whereas a woman is content with the conclusion reached.

All this is, however, being modified; and my own experiences on the physical plane have led me to be very cautious in dogmatizing on sexual differences. I allude here to the differences in respiration which fifty years ago were carefully described and

illustrated with diagrams in our physiologies; but which now have almost wholly disappeared, together with the small waist of which they were the product.

At one time I wrote a good deal on the radical difference between the woman's costal and the man's diaphragmatic types of respiration, believing them to be permanent; and lo, they have largely vanished!

I feel, in the same way, that it is rash to dogmatize on sex differences till the new picture is fully before our eyes. In my opinion, no man can safely predict what the feminine type will eventually be, even twenty years hence.

With regard to morals, one interesting difference between the sexes has long been observed; men being more scrupulous as to means ("playing the game"), and women as to ends.

Pursuing our subject into the higher regions of the spirit, a woman is more religious than a man. There is more of the emotional and the mystic in her. True religion, while indeed it transcends all the powers of the intellect, is primarily connected with the emotional ego. It is the heart not the head that is asked for, and which is the seat of the spiritual life. Love, which in its highest expression, is the nature of God, and the power of Christianity, is more feminine than masculine. I think, too, that woman is more altruistic than man, though this is fairly debatable; because although, when the "other one" is her own offspring she will freely give her all for it, it is not so clear how far her altruism is impersonal. The two forces, the material and brutal of Paganism and the immaterial and Divine of Christianity, are well contrasted in Samson and Christ, and more broadly in the last war; for while both sides used the lower force, one side only was also governed by the higher, which the other was never weary of repudiating with scorn.

In a minor way, some such difference is sexually marked, though to a less extent than formerly.

The actual production of children has and for ever will have a far-reaching effect on the psychology of the female mind, that may be profitably contrasted with the more temporary effects produced by woman's environment. Her great works are not to be found in libraries signed with their own names, but in the living world of life where their unsigned works abound in the men and women of to-day. When we really grasp these sex facts—that the actual production of the race as well as its early education and formation of character is the definite province of

women—and also that men specially are distinctively the work of the mother, we see again that the quality of our women must be a great factor in the future of our country. The mothers of England are her greatest hope, and that they should be worthy of their high calling is of the first importance.

Setting, therefore, in this paper the question of woman's physique on one side, we see how much turns on the psychology of the female mind of to-day. I do not wish here to enter into the smaller distinctions that differentiate the female mind from the male; but I do wish to emphasize those broad points on which woman's value depends. There can, I think, be no doubt that woman's mind has been primarily adapted to its especial task—that of rearing children in the same way that her body has been constructed for bearing them. The accumulated physiology of years has done much to assist and direct the act of childbirth to the great advantage of women. And is it too much to expect that the psychology of ages can do much to help in her subsequent task of education? It was in this belief that the Parents' National Educational Union was founded by Miss Mason. To me, as presiding over its councils for so many years since its inception, its principal concept was the great importance of the education of the Unconscious mind in distinction to the book-teaching of the Conscious mind. In the paper read here by the Headmaster of Winchester on teaching, it was a great joy to me to see that he fully recognized the primary value of the development of character. Now the female mind, as I have already shown, by her own use of the Unconscious mind, by her strong emotions, and more developed spirituality, is especially adapted for the formation of character in children; and inasmuch as its broad foundation lines are practically laid down, as the Jesuits have shown us, by twelve years of age, the task is well-nigh completed before the schooldays begin. The character of women qualify them for producing what Matthew Arnold declared were the three essentials of true Education—an *atmosphere*, a *discipline*, a *life*. No doubt in all three the father is of great assistance and in discipline almost an essential; but we need not dwell on this in a paper on the Psychology of the Female Mind.

Without a woman there is no home. It is created by her, and its atmosphere is mainly the outcome of her personality. An atmosphere may be well compared to the mould into which the molten iron is poured, and which absolutely determines its shape. In the same way the fluid personality—the child—takes

the shape of *the atmosphere* of its home. The maternal psychology of the woman here comes into full play, but we must wait for an esoteric view of it from the pen of an able woman, before we can analyse it. All I can say from long experience is that it is a peculiar gift of God for the benefit of humanity. It is more the offspring of instinct than of reason. For instance, the child at an early age is almost entirely under the power of suggestion; or, as our modern jargon would run—hypnotic influence. How does the mother know this? By pure instinct. If the child cuts its finger, she assures him it does not hurt, and the tears cease. If she suggests he is a good child and loves his mother, he produces at once the virtues with which he is credited. Hence in child training one should always suggest good and not evil. If you call the child a “limb of the devil” he will probably behave like one.

This mother's atmosphere is stronger than heredity, as is so well pointed out by Herbert Spencer in the classic sentence, “A man is more like the company he keeps than that from which he is descended”; and whereas in after life we have often to suit ourselves to our environment, before twelve, at any rate, our environment should be so shaped by our mothers as to overcome any salient points of a bad heredity. For instance, if drink be the curse, the atmosphere will be dry all round; if morals, the mother's suggestions will be directed to the special horrors and dangers of a corrupt life; if gambling, it will be on other lines, and so on. All this is a prelude to an earnest plea I am about to advance in these remarks on woman's psychology, to the effect that every training college for women should include special instruction in the right education of childhood. This is done with marked success at Ambleside by the Parents' National Educational Union, but it should, in these enlightened post-bellum days, be extended to all training colleges for women, and made a compulsory part of their training.

No greater work could be done for England and the next generation. For thirty years I have done my best to induce my patients before motherhood to take a six months' course of applied psychology to this end.

Matthew Arnold's next requisite is *discipline*. By this is not meant punishment, or checks, or arbitrary laws, too often forgotten by the law-giver. I do not say for a moment that even a woman's brain will itself specially suggest to her what is meant; but I do say, that when it is pointed out to her that the

true discipline of childhood is by the formation of habits, her marvellous patience pre-eminently qualifies her for carrying out the task. These habits produce railroads for the child's body, mind, and spirit over which it finds it easier to travel than along roads of its own choosing. Indeed, I may paraphrase Solomon's dictum, and say that if we train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old, he will not depart from it—because he cannot. With ease and certainty, the child may thus be taught courtesy, decision, self-respect, obedience, self-control, truthfulness, unselfishness, reverence and much else, as well as habits of cleanliness and health. A habit is conscious action repeated until it is done unconsciously, from which time it becomes an artificial reflex, and forms a part of the character, and will last a lifetime. With constant care any special habit may be formed in about six weeks. If the child should have any bad habits, the surest way of destroying them is to implant the opposite good habit, which in its growth chokes the other.

The whole of this subject is of the most absorbing interest, as well as of the greatest importance, and were my subject child training, how gladly would I enlarge upon it!

The last of the three is the *life*—or teaching the child, not directly, but indirectly—by example. Here, indeed, both parents reach the summit of their high vocation; but the part belongs supremely to the woman. And this, not only on account of her psychology, but because she is the head of the home, though the father may be the head of the house, and she is as a rule with the child continuously. What those mothers miss whose poverty obliges them to go out to work, or whose riches enable them to relegate the children entirely to the nursery, is incalculable.

The character of the child, one may say of the Nation, in the future is, as we have seen, dependent mainly not on heredity, but on the three mighty forces of environment or *atmosphere*, of *discipline* or habit, and of an ideal or example in the parents' *life*, in the much-loved and all-pervading presence of the mother before its eyes. To my mind it is not only the height of folly, but absolutely cruel, to allow girls to become wives and mothers without their acquiring any knowledge of these mighty forces, any idea of the value of their own minds, any insight into these great but simple powers, or any skill in their use.

Personally, I have done my best to alter this; but if this brief paper serves in any way to accentuate the importance to the

Nation of, the subject of the psychology of the female mind, and of the proper equipment of this mind for its vast responsibilities, the Victoria Institute will have done a national service.

Passing on to another mental phase presented by the modern woman, I note the advent of a cheerful almost asexual race in the vast army of spinsters; that will, I think, succeed in giving us a new ideal of this class. It is undoubtedly the result of more than one mental factor.

The combination of the fuller opening up of commercial and industrial life, the admittance into the professions, the independent status of the twentieth century, all combine to make the spinster's life happier and more dignified because on a sounder economic basis of self-support.

In alluding to economics I am touching on one of the most profound factors in the psychology of the female mind. In the earliest days the position of women was different. We are told that the economic and social unit was the *gens*,* the head of which was a woman; the union of several *gentes* forming a tribe; the family, as we now know it, before the establishment of monogamous marriage, being unknown, property, position and power being centred in the female head of the *gens*. Kinship, for obvious reasons, was only traced in the female line. The transition in feminine status took place gradually, as the permanence of the marriage tie became recognized, and monogamy established, but the change of descent and kinship to the male line was probably due to other causes.

From Bachofen we find that in Greece the change from the female to the male line was effected, owing to the theory that the "pneuma" or personal spirit was derived from the male and not from the female. Hence in Greece descent was in the male line, and Rome soon followed; in this, as in other instances, copying the example of Greece.

I need hardly point out that this assumption as to the "pneuma" is baseless, and that while daughters appear generally to possess more of the father's "pneuma" than the mother's, boys certainly are the reverse, and owe their character mainly to the mother.

The deeper psychology of the development of the "pneuma" in the embryo, and the time of its advent and entrance into the physique of the potential child, fortunately does not fall within

* C. S. Wake, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 16.

the scope of this paper ; and in the present small extent of our knowledge I doubt if its discussion would serve any useful purpose. It is enough if we point out the fallacy of the Greek concept.

Of course, when the change was established economics went with it, man being the breadwinner ; and from that day woman has been essentially in a false financial position, which has profoundly affected her psychology.

One of the subtle results of the social ascendancy of man is in dress. In previous ages, as in all the animal world, it was the male who dressed to attract the female, the choice resting with her. Hence the gorgeous plumage of the male bird, and the extraordinary decorations of the early savage wooer.

All this is now changed, and striking and attractive raiment no longer adorns the male, but is the recognized prerogative of the female. The result is curious, and somewhat grotesque, for the magnificent plumage used by male birds to attract the females is stripped from them after death, and then purchased by women to attract men. I am obliged to put the matter in this offensive way (which I trust will be forgiven) to show my point, but am happy to admit that women account for their attractive dress in other ways. Man is therefore mainly, in virtue of his economic position, and not as is said, on account of the numerical superiority of women, the principal selector in matrimony, which to my mind is detrimental to the status of women and to her offspring.

So long as women are mostly dependent on their fathers, until they exchange this for dependence on their husbands, will they continue to retain many of the characteristics peculiar to the servile state. Of course, the endowment of motherhood is one solution of this financial difficulty, though to my mind by no means the best, for all State interference in private life is more or less of an evil ; to prove which one has but to read Plato's *Republic*. Once a woman's independent economic position was assured, she would probably select her mate, in a way that would now, with our false standards of conduct, be considered positively indecent ; but seeing she is the mother of the resulting race, it seems only right she should do so.

One thing is certain, that a large number of degrading unions that now take place would at once cease, and the whole psychology of marriage would be raised to a higher level.

It is all very well for Mantegazza to say to women, "Never allow yourself to be able to say, 'You bought me,' or 'I sold

myself''; but until the economic status is changed the fact will remain.

The economic position of women is of such supreme importance and so affects the psychology of the female mind that until it is altered woman is most unfairly handicapped: It is undoubtedly for the good of the individual, of the nation, and of civilization itself that the financial position of a woman should be as assured as that of a man.

Already we see in the changing and advancing feminine psychology that the freedom of women has begun; but it is in vain to strike off the prisoner's shackles one by one, so long as the most galling one of all is retained, in the form of economic dependence.

No doubt professional and business careers have to some small extent solved the question, but surely much more is required. A radical change of view as to the provision for daughters as compared with sons seems to me an essential step. It is impossible now to go into details. Possibly in the discussion some may be advanced. Before I reach my last point, for this is designedly a short paper, so as to allow for a good discussion, I must emphasize again the wonderfully sober way in which women have entered their new heritage without developing the new woman. That brief nightmare has already shrunk into the obscurity from whence she came and to which she belongs. The modern woman must, however, do much more than avoid what is evil; she must grasp the fact of her own importance in moulding the outlook of the coming race, and she must positively advance the highest interests of this country spiritually in cleaving closely to the Faith once delivered to the saints in all its grandeur; and even still more closely to our Lord and Master, the Alpha and Omega of our Faith, and thus lead our manhood, so largely now halting between two opinions, into the way of truth.

Mentally and morally I hope she will never yield to the clamour now resounding in many high circles that Eugenics is more to a nation than Ethics. It is by its Christian standards and morals and not by its physical health that this nation must stand or fall, and in days when unspeakable matters are publicly discussed, many know that this warning is sorely needed.

Neutrality will not do. Once again female heroism must assert itself, and even at the expense of her finer feelings, women must come to the front and do battle for the right.

I now turn to Benjamin Kidd's beatific vision of the woman

of the future enshrined in his latest book, *The Science of Power*, first published in 1918, and which has run through many editions. I here read that "the future power in civilization is not in the fighting male of the race, it is in woman" (p. 195). "It is woman who by the necessities of her being has carried within her nature from the beginning, in its highest potentialities, the ruling principle of the new era of power. The driving principle of woman's nature has ever been, by force of physiological necessity, the subjugation of the present to the future. The mind of woman has in reality outstripped that of man by an entire epoch of evolution in the development of those characteristic qualities upon which power now rests in the social integration" (p. 204).

Mr. Kidd's foundation stones are, first, that the future of civilization is the collective emotion of the ideal, and second, that the principal instrument for this is the mind of woman, which is destined "to take the lead in the future of civilization as the principal instrument of power" (p. 235).

Truly this is a wondrous outlook; but even if every premiss were true the conclusion that such a goal will be reached is wholly fallacious, owing to the perverse and incalculable factor called human nature. Ruskin, in incomparable English, traced out faultless lines of human progress, and broke his great heart because he could find no one to advance along them. The vision held out to us in *The Science of Power* is equally enthralling and entrancing, and entirely captures the imagination, and one hopes and wishes that it might prove true.

It is only as we read the future in the light of the past that we are reluctantly forced to doubt the possibility of its fulfilment, apart from a radical change in the nature of man.

And finally may I reverently touch on a fact that has long impressed me, and that is that our Lord's life on earth does not so much exhibit masculine perfection, as that of humanity. And as we have already noticed the *rapprochement* of the two types in the sexes, which will proceed much further, and as we read that in the consummation of Christianity there will be neither male nor female, but all one in Christ Jesus, may we not believe that since we are to be conformed to the image of His Son, we are not called upon now to emphasize our psychological difference, but rather to accentuate the unity of redeemed humanity?

DISCUSSION.

Miss MAYNARD, first Principal of Westfield College, University of London, in the Chair, said :—It is an honour to be connected with Dr. Schofield on this occasion. His book on *Modern Spiritism* is admirable, and inspires great confidence in his judgment; it is not a mere outcry, but is a definite showing-up of the occult powers that surround us, and a proof that ethical deterioration invariably follows the breaking through the wall of personality a beneficent Providence has placed around each of us—"By their fruits ye shall know them" is our guiding rule for all life, and here the results are obvious.

Turning to the pleasanter and brighter subject immediately before us, Dr. Schofield applies the same Divine rule, and his verdict on the position of the younger women to-day is most favourable. Indeed, he is very generous; he does not look at the exceptions—and, alas, these can easily be found among us!—but observes the main current of reform, which has rendered the wage-earning young women of to-day steady, dignified, reticent and high-principled. Every fire, when first lighted, is invariably attended with discomforts before it settles down to a clear working heat, and not for one moment would I defend eccentricity, violence, or loss of gentle manners. But looking at the penetrating immensity of the reform, we surely may thank Heaven and say, *Never* was there a fire lighted with less smoke! Read the early days of our national heroine, Florence Nightingale, and mark how convention closed her round like a bird in a gold cage, and the intensity of resolution needed before she was allowed to fly. The efforts spent on gaining a general education came later, and I have been in the thick of the strife from its inception. My own Girton years were 1872-1875, when the whole matter was a subject for rebuke or for merriment. We were looked at askance, and now and then—especially with regard to a medical education—there were serious hints that we were disgracing ourselves and in consequence all womanhood. It was the urgent claim of the Zenana Mission helped to pull us through on this score, but to stand full against the current of popular opinion is always a trying position. The Right does win in the long run,

and our country has secured a torrent of good and expansion and happiness through the brave struggles of fifty years ago.

Of the actual difference in outlook between the mind of the Man and that of the Woman, some very striking examples are being given just now. Among my 500 past students are several who took the places of men in boys' schools during the war. In every case the headmaster said the woman was the more painstaking and more interesting teacher, and yet in every case without exception she was dismissed in favour of the returning man. Now, why is this? I believe I can explain it by a real difference in psychology.

The verb "to teach" takes two accusatives—"I teach John Latin." This is two affirmations, "I teach Latin, a subject," and "I teach John, a child." Therefore there are two things to learn, the Subject and the Child, and the man spends his chief energy on the Subject, and the woman on the Child. It is, I believe, universally admitted that the woman is the more conscientious corrector of faulty exercises, the better encourager of the backward and the stupid, and in the space of a term will get more learning, and more accurately held, into the minds of a given class. The man may tend to be faulty here, but his eyes are fixed on improving himself in his own subject. If teaching Latin, he will take in a classical review, if science he will spend hours alone in the laboratory, trying a little research. In fact, ten years later, the man tends to become the more brilliant scholar, and as the headmaster says, "In the long run he brings more honour to the school." This division of aim between the Subject and the Child is not a thing to lament, but to see in it the hand of a wise Creator who has told off half the human race to deal with immaturity, and to find its unflinching interest, not so much in the learning for its own sake, as in the development (by its means) of the mind, and heart, and taste, and character of childhood. We, the unmarried women, are not the mothers of a small and particular flock, but we are in the highest sense the Mothers of the Nation.

Mr. MARTIN L. ROUSE said :—I must record my dissent from a theory quoted by the learned lecturer, that originally a woman was at the head of every *gens* or clan, the natural subdivision of every primitive nation. This theory is mainly, if not wholly, derived

from examining the customs of intermarriages among the northern Australian blacks and possibly some of the Red Indian tribes, wherein certain degrees of affinity derived from women are held to bar intermarriage. But in historic Grecian times, and even in the remote half-mythical times that Homer writes of, there is no traces of those barriers to intermarriage or of women's rule. And, in the matter of inheritance, it is well known that the early Romans held only the Agnati, or kinsfolk on the father's side, not the Cognati, or kinsfolk at large, to be entitled to inherit (*see Ortolan's History of Roman Law, et passim*).

We have heard to-night from our Chairwoman that an emancipated woman ought to have the right to propose marriage to a man, or at least to let a man clearly know that she would not be averse to a proposal, without being thought immodest; and I certainly think that a woman sometimes suffers the final loss of a husband because she has shrunk from telling a man that she likes him best of all men. Nor must it be forgotten that the good widow Ruth actually proposed to her benefactor Boaz, and that his acceptance led to the birth of an heir in the Messianic line.

I agree with the lecturer that a woman should be made more independent of marriage, either by being well endowed by her parents or by being instructed and trained by them in some trade or profession whereby she can support herself and feel in no wise bound to take a husband for the sake of his support.

Lt.-Col. M. ALVES said:—During the very few minutes allowed me, I should like to make a few remarks.

Broadly, women's education has in the past been neglected, compared with that of men. But men and women are not separate races, as men have mothers; and women, fathers. This neglect has, I think, reacted greatly on the men, not physically, but mentally and morally.

When we consider the work that each sex has to perform in the world, we can easily understand why their minds should differ as well as their bodies. At the same time, there must be a certain amount of overlap; otherwise neither sex could enter at all into the mind of the other.

In paragraph 4 of page 28 is the remark: "Since the invention of tools, man's body has greatly shrunk in value." This I doubt;

the nervous system is what counts ; and this is probably of greater importance with tools than without them, or with those of a very elementary nature.

I agree cordially with the remark in paragraph 6 of the same page that the quality of woman's mind is of still greater importance than her body ; inasmuch as the exercise of a right mind naturally tends towards a right body. This has been noticed by some who make no serious pretence to religion. But if we would preserve society from the results of the terrible contagious disease alluded to in the same paragraph, and from the causes which lead to it, the object will not be obtained by preaching the same sermon to men as to women.

Again, woman, who has to deal with the thousand and one little details of her own domestic life, reasons naturally from the particular ; whilst man, who has to deal with the fewer great affairs, reasons, or should do so, from general great principles.

In paragraph 5 of page 29 is the remark : " Women generally are more spiritual as well as more emotional than men." They are more religious because more emotional, and fill those churches from which men are kept away, largely by their reasoning instincts ; but I cannot find that, in proportion, they are either more or less spiritual in the true sense of the word.

On page 35 is an allusion to " the *gens*, the head of which was a woman ; the union of several *gentes* forming a tribe ; the family as we now know it, before the establishment of monogamous marriage being unknown, property, position and power being centred in the female head of the *gens*." This may have been a very general custom, but so also was idolatry ; and neither was " from the beginning." " As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them " was a sign of degradation in Israel.

Again, on the same page, I maintain that the Grecian theory, however derived, that the " *pneuma* " or personal spirit was derived from the male, and not from the female, is correct and Scriptural. It might well have been inferred from the Old Testament, where the Spirit of life, not, I submit, Divine in itself, but animal, as Gen. vii, 21-22 teaches, was specially given to the earthly matter of Adam, by God who always speaks of Himself as masculine. It is more clearly shown in the New Testament by the immaculate conception and birth of our Lord.

I much fear for the results of the so-called "emancipation of woman." Freeing herself from the control of man, she is all the more likely to be enslaved by evil angels. Both Moses, in Gen. vi, 1-4, and Paul, in 1 Cor. xi, 10, caution us on this point. The fall and the flood both came largely through woman going out of her sphere; and at the end of the age it will be "as it was in the days of Noah."

Prof. H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD thought that they must all have felt the charm of this able and very attractive paper, although they might be unable to concur with the author in his view that the modern woman is superior to her early Victorian predecessor.

The author's remarks on the psychological training of women intending to become mothers, and of all female teachers, are of very great value, and will, I hope, receive the public recognition and attention which they deserve. His description of the husband as "the head of the *house*," and of the wife as "the head of the *home*" is particularly felicitous. The man in *judicial* qualities, the woman in *intuitive* perception, must be accorded pre-eminence. His empire is that of the mind, her empire is that of the heart; he is her *head*, she captures his *heart*. Cordially do I endorse the statement (page 31), "Love, which in its highest expression, is the nature of God, and the power of Christianity, is more feminine than masculine." Also, that final statement (page 38) as to our Lord's life on earth.

Dr. ANDERSON-BERRY, M.D., LL.D., said:—Psychology is that branch of science that concerns itself with the mind. Now science is Knowledge systematized. Knowledge in its original concrete and particular forms cannot be systematized. Principles must be evolved and facts set down in the light of such principles; then we have knowledge systematized, that is, science or truth in scientific form.

To-night we are asked to deal thus with the facts of the female mind (but that savours of dualism), of the female soul (but that savours of religion), of the female consciousness, or better still, using a Lockean term, experience. Now experience is the process of becoming expert by experiment, and women are making many experiments to-day. Walking the streets one sees them making experiment with the dress and accoutrements of the male; and in the cars and buses, of their manners; whilst in the trains one is

often pushed back by women so that they may secure the last vacant seats in the smoking-carriage !

In the paper read to-night a standard or norm has been set up, by approximation to which or otherwise the female mind is judged. And that standard, it seems to me, is the male mind. Certainly the female mind of the Victorian age was at the opposite pole to the male. Whilst the progress it has since made by independency of thought and action, by bachelor rooms and latch-keys, a progress the paper praises, is in the line of approximation to the male mind. And I join with Dr. Schofield in noticing the evolution of an asexual woman during the process of this progress. Now from a long experience as a physician I condemn this asexuality as the bane of modern woman-kind. Its presence produces the tragedy of marriage and puts the innocent joys of matrimony to flight. And is not marriage the be-all and end-all of woman when it is crowned with motherhood ? Anatomy and physiology answer, Yes ! So does theology, as we also heard to-night. Otherwise where would be the future race, the education, the eugenics, the discipline, of which we have heard so much even now ?

The minute left to me I devote to the expression of a hope that we shall have the pleasure of hearing a paper by Miss Maynard on the Psychology of the Male Mind, because from her remarks I judge that her knowledge of that mind is even greater than Dr. Schofield's apparently is of the female mind.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said :—Ladies and Gentlemen, anything that Dr. Schofield says is always worth listening to ; and, as a rule, I am in hearty accord with the views he expresses. But, on this occasion, I must differ somewhat from him.

On page 27 he compares "the gentle submission and downcast eye" of the woman of the early Victorian days somewhat disparagingly with "the modern latch-key young lady," and says "the new is better !" But when we consider these things from a Scriptural standpoint, is the "modern latch-key young lady" with her short skirts, powdered face, and cigarette in her mouth really an improvement on the modest girl of earlier days ? (see 1 Tim. ii, 9). Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the lecturer can speak as he does of "the wonderfully sober way in which women have entered their new heritage without developing the new woman."

Then on pages 36 and 37 he speaks of the "servile" condition of women who are dependent on their husbands, and says this is due to "our false standards of conduct."

But again, is this really so? When we turn to Scripture, which must be our ultimate guide in such matters, we find, according to Gen. ii, 18, that Eve was made for Adam; not Adam for Eve. And again in 1 Cor. xi, 9, the man was not made for the woman, but the woman for the man. Also in 1 Cor. xi, 3, "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man." Hence in Titus ii, 5, married women are enjoined to be "obedient to their own husbands."

Now this is not derogatory to the true position of womanhood, but on the contrary, for according to Eph. v, 22 and 24, where the same teaching is emphasized, the beautiful truth is revealed that the Christian wife is God's chosen type of His Church on earth! "Therefore, as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything."

And in the measure in which the wife fails to be in subjection to her husband, in that measure she fails to carry out God's high purposes of honour concerning her, in setting forth to the world the true position and attitude of His beautiful Church.

Then, as to Dr. Schofield's contention that it should be the woman who should select the man in marriage, and not the man select the woman, I will merely say this:—If the man represents Christ, as the Scriptures show he does, and if the woman represents the Church, as the Scriptures show she does, and if Christ said to His disciples, as He did (*see John xv, 16*), "*Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you,*" then the Scriptural order must surely be for the man to choose the woman, and not the woman to choose the man.

Mrs. McCORMICK-GOODHART sent the following:—"The address which you so ably delivered this afternoon interested me intensely, and I am fully in accord with all your views, and felt tempted to say a few words on the subject. I am afraid I should not have been so polite in some of my utterances. For example, the young lady of a hundred years ago, whom you picturesquely described as 'the early Victorian lady with a poke bonnet' I should have called 'the bovine lady of the past.'

"Now, no one has more respect for 'the cow' than I have. Her life is one of martyrdom, her time is chiefly spent in bringing progeny into the world, she is patient to extinction, and for relaxation and amusement chews the cud. Is not this a true picture of the Victorian lady, substituting 'needlework' for the last occupation? Is not her life practically on the same level as the cow? But the great difference between the two examples of the female species is that woman has a mind, and therefore is undoubtedly destined, by the Father of all, for a higher purpose in life than a cow. Women bring men into the world, and are closely associated with them for ten or in some cases twenty years. In early life she watches them day and night, and as their lives unfold, she thinks for them and with them, enters into their joys and sorrows, plans for them, listens to them, encourages them, restrains them, and silently weaves the invisible web which moulds them for the future for weal or woe. And for what object is all this? To make 'men' of them, self-reliant, high minded, capable human beings, to go out into the world and fight the battle of life, and then to make the supreme sacrifice, if called upon to do so. A voice says, 'Surely that is a sufficient avocation for woman.' I would answer 'Yes' up to a point; but it stands to reason a woman who is a household drudge, whose whole time and thoughts are taken up with managing a home, of more or less importance, who has to deal week in and week out with domestics, and food, and bills, and indoor details, is not as suitable a person to bring up her children as she is to bring them into the world.

"Can anyone dispute the fact that a well-educated woman, who has interests and occupations in the outside world—one whose thoughts are on a higher plane, one who mixes with life and knows its dangers and pitfalls, one who is capable of guiding and controlling her sons when the father is absent in foreign countries, or 'perhaps dead'—is more to be desired for the welfare of mankind, if not on her own account? And how is this to be accomplished unless woman comes out of her shell, as she is now doing, and takes an active part in all that pertains to the betterment of her mind, which in sequence trains her to be friend, guide, counsellor and companion, as well as mother, to her sons? Women will undoubtedly make many mistakes and go to many extremes before they settle down to being

well-balanced, free individuals, before they are able to stand alone; but Gladstone said, 'It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty,' and doubtless this is equally the case with women."

In reply, Dr. SCHOFIELD thanked the large audience for their favourable acceptance of his paper, and briefly replied to those who had spoken as follows:—

I notice that on the whole my wise and wary auditors have carefully avoided the real subject of my paper, which is "The Psychology of the Female Mind." Mr. Rouse questions "the gens" and proceeds to remark it was not known to historic Greece nor to Rome, but he will observe that while the condition was the natural outcome of promiscuous polygamy, I showed how in Greece and Rome it disappeared, and the male thenceforth became the head.

Colonel Alves has pointed out that a man's brain is still of value. Perhaps, when I said "his body" had shrunk in value with the discovery of tools, to be precise I should have said "the value of his muscular energy"; for I admit his brain is part of his body. I fear I must not follow the Colonel in his remarks on the origin of the "pneuma," as so little is known that it must be still mainly a matter of speculation.

Dr. Anderson-Berry said that asexuality was the bane of modern womankind. Is not this a little too strong? I greatly fear the bane of modern womankind lies in other directions altogether; and when I consider the injustice to women of our customs connected with marriage and the vast numbers of enforced spinsters in these isles, it seems to me that what is wanted is a more rational procedure in the whole matter.

The Doctor proceeds to say "the presence of asexuality produces the tragedy of marriage, and puts the innocent joys of matrimony to flight"—here, I confess, I fail to follow.

Marriage, even when crowned with motherhood, is not quite "the be-all and end-all of woman." There still remains a little outside both of these honourable functions. Anatomy and physiology do not teach us all of womanhood. I fully concur with Dr. Anderson-Berry's hope that ere long we may have a psychological paper from Miss Maynard.

Mrs. McCormick-Goodhart's remarks appeal to us all and are of great interest as being those of the only lady who joined in the discussion. Doubtless the feelings of the large body of women present proved too deep for words.

The proceedings concluded with the usual votes of thanks.

614TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

E. J. SEWELL, ESQ., TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following Associates:—Colonel Hope Biddulph, Miss Georgiana Biddulph, Colonel C. W. R. St. John, Mrs. Annie C. Bill, Miss Theodora Cazalet and Mrs. Howard Hooke.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., to read his paper on "India."

INDIA. By SIR ANDREW WINGATE, K.C.I.E.

FIFTY years ago the young civilian had to collect his information about India with considerable difficulty. Now books in abundance are available, and among these a special debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Vincent Smith for his admirable *Oxford History of India*, which I have used as the most accurate authority for my facts.

India, as distinguished from the larger area known as our Indian Empire, has been described as a figure composed of two triangles on a common base drawn from Karachi to Calcutta. We shall think more correctly, both geographically and historically, if we draw the dividing line from Broach along the line of the Narbada River to the mouth of the Hugli. South of such a line the Peninsula, with its coast line of about 3500 miles, becomes the Deccan, meaning vaguely the South Country—while all to the north constitutes Hindustan, the location of the Hindus, the Indus country.

Some place the northern mountain ranges in a third division, but the Himalayas—the Abode of Snow—are bound as a turban, slantwise, upon the head of India by two mighty rivers, the Indus and the Brahmaputra, each 1800 miles long, while the people, though Mongolian in type, have mostly accepted Hinduism.

Awed by the majesty of Nature, the Hindus lift up their eyes to the hills in worship and crowd to the rivers to cleanse their hearts from sin. Possibly the Indus came to be thought unclean, because they knew not whence it came, whereas the Ganges

rose inside the sacred area. The waters fertilize their lands, and make life possible and pleasant. Viewing the things which are seen, they turned them into gods. They lost sight of the elemental fact proclaimed by Isaiah (xlv, 18), which they might have deduced from a study of the geography of India, God "formed the earth to be inhabited." The vast reservoirs of the Himalayas, the plains spread out from their feet, the tilt of the Deccan plateau, the accessibility of the ocean, the monsoon rain-laden winds, teach that India was prepared by loving hands under the direction of one master mind. We may expect to find the same provision for the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants. They have been disciplined by judgments, light has broken through from time to time, and finally they have been entrusted to the British people to be trained and guided into that true Liberty which is the bond slave of Righteousness.

The line of the Narbada demarcates the history of India into two parts. Very little is known about the Peninsula before A.D. 600, whereas in Hindustan some events become definite as far back as 600 B.C.—a difference of twelve centuries.

Cut off from Hindustan by the broad belt of hill country occupied by fearsome jungle tribes, the Peninsula dwelt in isolation. Especially was this true of the far south, where the Dravidian languages resisted the penetration of the Sanskrit of the Brahmans, so evident in the languages of the Deccan farther north. But the Dravidians exported much valuable produce by sea, and it was to develop this trade that King Solomon, with the assistance of the skilled navigators of Tyre, organized a fleet of larger vessels. Unfortunately, the seamen brought back no accounts of the lands they visited, unless such may some day be discovered in Arabia.

This paper may help us to understand why the Bombay and Madras Presidencies are so sharply differentiated from North India, and why the present policy of decentralization is so true to history and to existing facts.

The fuller knowledge of the condition of Hindustan is due mainly to the inclusion from time to time of part of North-Western India within the far eastern limits of the Persian and Grecian Empires. Thus, Darius Hystaspes (521-485 B.C.) sent an expedition to ascertain the feasibility of a sea passage between Persia and the Indus—that river being then the recognized eastern boundary of Persia. Darius then annexed a portion of the Panjab, constituting it his twentieth satrapy, one of the

richest. Evidently his information was good. A few years later, in 479 B.C., an Indian contingent of archers under Xerxes shared the defeat of the Persians at Plataea in Greece. We are familiar with Darius Hystaspes in the fifth and sixth chapters of Ezra, when he confirmed the decree of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of the Temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem.

About the time of Darius Hystaspes, two notable religious movements were in progress in Magadha, a kingdom situated in South Behar, due to the preaching of Gautama Buddha, who died about 544 B.C. (some say 488), and of Mahavira, who died in 527 (or may be 477), the one the founder of Buddhism, the other of Jainism.

Dr. Vincent Smith draws attention to the importance of this period. "The sixth century B.C. was a time when men's minds in several widely separated parts of the world were deeply stirred by the problems of religion and salvation." The century not only saw Mahavira and Buddha, but also Zoroaster and Confucius, the reformers of Persia and China. The period may be said to have begun from the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 606 B.C. and the dispersion of the Jews. How widely they were distributed over Persia we learn from the Book of Esther, which also mentions India. The Assyrian and Egyptian Empires were subdued, and then, by a dramatic stroke, as the seventy years of the Hebrew prophets were expiring, this glorious Babylon, the conqueror of many gods, the defier of Jehovah, fell with a crash that resounded throughout the earth (538 B.C.). It was a time to compel thought. Who was God? Was there any God? Were the idols of the nations vain?

Isaiah closed his utterances about 700 B.C. He spoke to all races of men. It is difficult to decide that such messages of judgment on nations and visions of glory for mankind never winged their way to other lands. We know that merchandise was carried to and fro, that military expeditions penetrated far, that travellers performed astonishing journeys. Were the thoughts of men immobilized by the restraints of language? The nations were never left in total darkness by the Good Shepherd. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were sent to the Canaanites, Moses was sent to Egypt, Jonah to Nineveh, Daniel to Babylon and Persia, Paul to Greece and Rome—God's most powerful messengers met the rulers of idolatry before they perished. The Far East can hardly have been shut out from the Light which shone from Jerusalem.

In this sixth century B.C. a people of education, known as Aryans and later as Brahmans, closely akin to the Iranians or Persians, were established in Hindustan. They had come from the north-west, doubtless bringing with them their priestly ritual and some of their ancient odes. The general idea of the *Rigveda* (meaning Hymn-knowledge) was based on fireworship—still maintained by the Parsees—but behind the personified powers of Nature was the reasoning that compelled back to the primal knowledge of one God. The celebrated Creation Hymn expresses this conclusion: "Whence this manifold creation sprang? The gods themselves came later into being." We are familiar with the same degeneration from the original knowledge of one God in the Old Testament.

This intellectual priestly community, keeping itself strictly apart from the population, had slowly penetrated along the courses of the Indus and Ganges. The gradual compilation of its worship and ritual into the four *Vedas* preserved cohesion between its members while the rhythm and perfect structure of its language captivated successive multitudes. Consequently, just as most of the chief languages of Northern India derive from the Sanskrit, so the marked features of Hinduism, social and religious, have been impressed on the private and public life of all Indians by the Brahmans. Against this enslavement, Buddhism and Jainism rose in revolt, as there have been attempts to get free both then and since.

The Brahmans worked not by conversion but by absorption. This led to an immense multiplication of deities, from the conception of one God to serpent worship. The cobra is the power represented in most Hindu idols. Both Moscs and Paul testify that the sacrifices are literally made to devils and not to God (Deut. xxxii, 17; 1 Cor. x, 20). Originally, Brahmans neither worshipped the cow nor refused meat. Perhaps these early habits and their cruel sacrifices ran counter to local sentiment. They were also forging caste. The intensity with which they protected their blood against intermarriage no doubt helped the belief that they were of divine origin. This would incline other societies to adopt similar means of elevation in the social scale. There is perhaps a universal distaste for intermarriage, but nowhere else has this become a part of the religious, social and economic life as in India. The other factor in the production of caste was the teaching that food contaminates, and that the body must be protected as rigorously as the

offspring. In both respects Brahmans and Jews have developed along similar lines, but the low estimation accorded to Jews perhaps saved Europe.

Jainism rejected the *Vedas* and animal sacrifices, but continued to venerate the Hindu gods and main doctrines and to accept the services of Brahmans. Consequently, it has been tolerated by the Brahmans and survives in Rajputana and Western India. Jains are a well-to-do and influential body, believing in prayer and fasting, but carrying respect for animal and tree life to extreme limits.

Buddhism, on the other hand, cast out the false gods of Hinduism, but as it left no place for God at all, it failed to keep free from idol worship. Buddha accepted Karma and Transmigration and regard for animal life. The motive power of his reform lay, however, in its spiritual appeal. His call was to purity in deed, word and thought, the renunciation of the world and its lusts, and obedience to ten commandments, such as not to kill, steal, or commit adultery, not to lie, slander, or swear, not to covet or hate.

Karma means "action," and the doctrine is concisely defined by Dr. V. Smith to mean, "that the merits and demerits of a being in *past* existences determine his condition in the *present* life." Therefore, as Mr. Farquhar explains (*A Primer of Hinduism*), every act of a man works itself out in retribution in another birth. The doctrine of Transmigration of the Soul is the necessary companion of Karma. The idea is that after innumerable lives during myriads of years, the soul rises to perfection, an idea now being adapted by a shallow Christianity to the moral evolution of mankind, flesh developing into spirit. The facts of life in India have so little encouraged this hope, that pessimism has laid its paralysing hand on all religious thought. Not only so. These doctrines paralyse philanthropy. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (John ix, 2-3). Hinduism was unable to answer, "That the works of God should be made manifest in him," that Love would strive to cure or alleviate suffering. Karma and Transmigration have become the synonyms for perpetual retribution. The uplifting power of the Forgiveness of Sins and the Fatherhood of God are thus lost. The widow, specially the child-widow, has borne the age-long, relentless cruelty of these doctrines.

The earliest known date in the history of India is the invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. He marched from Kabul

and reached Taxila (now Hasan Abdul) some twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi. Taxila was the capital of a kingdom between the Indus and the Jhelum, a wealthy, cultured city with a mixed population. Alexander was received with gifts and advanced against Porus, another king, ruling between the Jhelum and the Chenab. At this time, the Panjab was divided among a number of States, much as Rajputana is to-day. The army of King Porus was well-appointed, and represents the struggle for existence of the period. It comprised 30,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 300 chariots and 200 war elephants. Alexander prevailed after a stiff battle, and fought his way to the Beas River. His soldiers, impressed by the tall stature and military prowess of the men of the Panjab, refused to penetrate farther, and Alexander was compelled to retreat by way of the Jhelum and the Indus, across South Beluchistan, back to Persia. He died at Babylon in 323 B.C.

His invasion furnished opportunity for the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty, which had been for a long time reigning in Magadha, a city already mentioned in connection with the Jains and Buddhists. A young adventurer, Chandragupta Maurya, aided by a clever Brahman, Chanakya, seized Pataliputra (Patna), the capital of Magadha, in 322 B.C., drove out the Macedonian garrisons from the Panjab, and compelled Seleukos, Alexander's successor in Asia, to cede Afghanistan. Chandragupta reigned with "ruthless severity" from 322 to 298 B.C. over all North India from Herat to Patna, the Narbada being his southern boundary. Dr. V. Smith emphasizes the appalling wickedness of the statecraft taught by Chanakya and the espionage and corruption which tainted the administration.

Alexander had broken the fighting strength of the Panjab kingdoms which rendered possible this rapid extension of the Magadha State under what is known as the Maurya Dynasty. Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Bindusara (298-273 B.C.), and he by his son, the famous Asoka (273-242 B.C.). The army was large, composed of some 700,000 infantry, with 8000 chariots and 9000 elephants, clad in mail, representing the modern "Tank." The Maurya kings emulated the Persian monarchs and lived in much splendour. Gladiatorial combats and animal fights were the cruel amusements, as indeed they long continued. Dancing girls occupied as prominent a place then as now, though we recollect the noble answer given not long ago by the Mysore Government to the temple priests, that uncleanness could form

no part of acceptable worship. The administration was well organized, though the bulk of the expenditure was upon the army and the palace.

Much of the information of the Maurya period is derived from Megasthenes, the ambassador from Seleukos Nikator at the Court of Chandragupta and his successors. With Asoka began numerous inscriptions on rock and pillar composed by himself. Asoka's empire by this time included the greater part of India, from the Hindu Kush to near Mysore. So far the precept enunciated by Chanakya for the guidance of a king, "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness," had not been followed. Now came a sudden change. For some three centuries, Buddhism had been making its way, and the Maurya kings came under its influence. In Asoka it became a living force. Remorse entered his mind for having attacked the Kalingas, a small State on the Bay of Bengal, "because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and carrying away captive of the people" (261 B.C.). Asoka felt similar sympathy for the despised Hill Tribes. He desired that all "animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness." His officers were enjoined to avoid harshness towards any and to show sympathy with all.

Asoka propagated his beliefs with energy. He had a vision of internationalism. He sent his messengers to the Far West, including Syria and Egypt. His brother and sister brought about the conversion of Ceylon. Buddhism spread to Burmah, Siam, Japan, Tibet, and during the first century after Christ became an active force in China. Mohammed compelled men to accept his creed by the sword. Asoka conquered by meekness. The strength of Mohammedanism lay in the truth that there is one God, its weakness is that it requires no change of heart and has no place for love. The power of Buddhism is that it approached the Kingdom of God. It insisted on speaking the truth, on reverence to parents and teachers, sympathetic treatment of inferiors, respect for the religious opinions of others, regard for animal life. Such were the stone-cut edicts of Asoka. We do not find the like again till we get to Akbar.

The Maurya Empire scarcely lasted fifty years after the death of Asoka, and a reaction against Buddhism followed. For some centuries Hindustan lapsed into conflicts between petty kings till once more a strong ruler arose in a second Chandragupta and his son, Samudragupta, who between A.D. 320 and 375

re-established Pataliputra as the capital of an empire, ranging north of the Narbada from the Satlej to the Hugli. Kabul and North-West India were lost. The Gupta period lasted some 350 years, but its golden age was confined to one and a-half centuries.

As India owes to Greek sources most of her knowledge of the Maurya dynasty (326-185 B.C.), so it is from Chinese travellers that she has interesting records of the Gupta dynasty (A.D. 320-480). These Chinese came to study Buddhism in the land of its birth, and found large towns and prosperous peoples, charitable institutions, including hospitals and rest houses for travellers. There was still a strong Buddhist influence, but caste was strict.

During the fifth century A.D. the Hindu reaction was in progress. Buddhism would make no terms with Brahmanism. The two were entirely opposed. Buddhism enjoined sharing the joys and sorrows of others, cultivating love, thoroughly democratic. Brahmanism cared for none of these things. Isolation, pride, supremacy, distinguished the Brahman, thoroughly aristocratic, and in return for deference any conduct was good enough for Hindus. The glory of Asoka's kingdom was due to Buddhism. The Brahmins hated its light and stifled its life. During the Gupta period, Buddhist ideals still moderated rulers and Buddhist monasteries popularized education. The Brahmins kept education to themselves. Finally, the Brahmins crushed Buddhism out of India. The little that remained was stamped out by the Mohammedans. With the triumph of Brahmanism, the opportunity to work towards a national India was lost, and in the seventh century A.D. India again broke into fragments,* and disappeared in darkness and corruption till the Mohammedans took command.

It is well to recollect that during the centuries under review, within Brahmanism, certain conceptions of salvation took shape in the teaching of what is known as "Bhakti," which produced the *Bhagavadgita*, or Song of the Lord, and is exhibited in personal devotion to Rama and Krishna. Kalidasa, the Sanskrit poet, lived in the Gupta age. His celebrated play, *Sakuntala*, was lately produced in London.

The immediate cause of the disruption of the Gupta Empire was the inroad of the Huns into the Panjab about A.D. 500, as not long previously other bands under Attila had overrun Germany and France. General disorder followed. The seventh

century is interesting on account of the appearance of the Rajput clans, and their settlement in Rajputana, a people that have exercised immense influence, and to a considerable degree have been able to resist being Brahmanized. Tod describes the Rajputs as Scythians from Central Asia, whence came also the sturdy cultivators, Jats, Gujars. Ahirs and others, now embedded in the caste system.

We need not linger to investigate the ever-changing kingdoms which struggled with each other south of the Narbada. The strife was varied by occasional invasions from Hindustan and by perennial wars of the Deccan kings with the Dravidian kings further south. Buddhism declined, and the Brahmans steadily penetrated Southern India, and there secured their most unquestioned supremacy at the cost of the most cruel degradation of many millions of the depressed classes. The Lingayets sect, strong in the Kanarese country, broke away in the twelfth century. The Lingayets worship Siva, but reject the *Vedas*, Brahmans, Transmigration, child-marriage and perpetual widowhood. They have been compelled to revert to caste.

In the dust raised by falling dynasties and the conquests from which new ones emerged, we must not lose sight of occasionally prolonged intervals of settled and good government, such as produced the great irrigation *amiruts* across the Kaveri and other rivers during the Chola dynasty, which dated from A.D. 907 and lasted about four centuries. The huge temples of Tanjore date from the eleventh century. Imposing temples had been built long before that. The most wonderful is at Ellora, sculptured out of the solid rock, from which it stands clear, as though it had been erected stone by stone (about A.D. 760).

Imagination may be left to weave out of a few shadowy indications a decorative tapestry to hang behind the period when some sort of history begins. We have seen that in India historical data commence in the sixth century B.C. with the appearance of Buddhism as the antagonist against cruel idolatry and human strife. We have seen that twice, some 300 years B.C. and again some 300 years A.D., under Hindu kings, more or less swayed by Buddhistic teaching, Hindustan seemed to be within sight of becoming a beneficent government over a united people, and that gradually Brahmanic idolatry reasserted its popular power, itself torn between the opposing tendencies of philosophic and licentious thought. During the sixteen

centuries, ending about A.D. 1000, of what is known as the Hindu period of Indian history, the Brahmans moulded public opinion and conduct, and became the dominating class throughout India, with the net result that Hindustan, the Deccan and the Far South, all alike, were left in a welter of bloodshed and a tangle of morals. Brahmans had a free hand to regenerate India or even bring it decent government, for they were the only universal influence. They utterly failed. Why? Because, in my judgment, they used their intellectual strength to despise other men to a degree unknown even in slavery, and to justify the worship of debasing idols.

Mohammedans.

Such a population, retrograde in civilization, degenerate in character, devouring one another, with wealth stored in centres by kings and priests, asked for trouble. Judgment came in terrible form. Raiding began from Afghanistan. Round about A.D. 1000, Mahmud of Ghazni plundered one rich temple after another, including Somnath, and annexed the Panjab. The warning was unheeded, and in A.D. 1175 Sultan Mohammed Ghori, advancing from Eastern Afghanistan, had no difficulty in overthrowing the huge Hindu host of confederate kings under the Chauhan Rajput Prithiraj, ruler of Ajmer and Delhi. This victory (A.D. 1192) sealed the doom of Hindustan. Armies reared on the caste system, which divides, were no match for the unified enthusiasm of the Moslems. Bengal fell an easy victim about A.D. 1200, and remained under the Mohammedan heel till the British brought deliverance after five and a-half centuries. The ferocity of the early invaders was merciless, slaughtering idolaters and destroying temples, in place of which mosques were everywhere substituted.

From this time till the middle of the fourteenth century the Sultans of Delhi reigned supreme. Only two need mention. Ala-ud-din in 1303 stormed the hill-fort of Chitor in Meywar, when the Rajput ladies and their female attendants saved themselves from the horrors of capture by entering a subterranean gallery, where they perished by fire, including the lovely Padmani. Tod says he went to the entrance only of the sacred cavern. He was probably informed, as I was by a later Maharana, that the place had already been ransacked by the victors.

This Ala-ud-din understood the taxation of profits. In his instructions for the treatment of Hindus, he recorded that he

had given orders "that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards and property." This was the working principle of revenue officials during many generations, so that the rapacity of Mohammedans and Hindus alike reduced both production and population.

The power of the Delhi sultans reached its height under Mohammed bin Tughlak, who began by causing the evacuation of Delhi and replacing it by what was constructed to be an impregnable fortress, Dowlatabad (A.D. 1326). His atrocities led to Bengal and Kashmir asserting independence, and to the founding of the Mohammedan Bahmani and the Hindu Vijayanagar kingdoms in the Deccan. Among the acts of this despot, it is interesting to note that he sought spiritual sanction for his authority from the Kaliph, whom he decided to be the Circassian Mameluke Sultan of Egypt. This indicates that even in these early days India did not look to Arabia. Nor is it altogether strange that Indian Moslems now look to Constantinople, when it is remembered that every Friday in the mosque they listen to the official prayer. From the first step of the Khutba God is praised; from the second, Mohammed; from the third, the Koran and religion; and from the fourth, the reigning Sultan of Turkey. Thus Mohammedans grow up from boyhood in the persuasion that Constantinople is their political centre, and that their allegiance to the Kaliphate is intact.

It was under these uncompromising sultans that large numbers of Hindus, who now form the bulk of the existing Mohammedan population in North India, and many of whom still retain evident traces of their origin, were converted to escape the tax and the massacre. The treatment of the Armenians recently by the Turks is merely a fair sample of Mohammedan intolerance. These Delhi sultans were almost without exception not only fiendishly cruel, but obscene and bestial beyond description. Yet they encouraged learning, and built impressive mosques and tombs—a combination of kultur, frightfulness and disgusting vice. Judgment came as a bolt from the blue.

In 1398 Timur (Tamerlane) made his terrible raid from Samarkhand into India, smashed the power of Delhi, and left chaos behind him. From this date, besides Bengal, Malwa and Gujarat became independent Mohammedan kingdoms. For the capital of Gujarat, Ahmed Shah built Ahmedabad, renowned for its carved woodwork. It was this kingdom which came in contact with the Portuguese, who had rounded the

Cape in 1497 and soon after established themselves at points on the west coast. To the Portuguese was given the first chance to regenerate India. They forfeited it by their misdeeds.

The Bahmani kings ruled from Kulburga and in their wars with the rising Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar carried into the Deccan all the fanatical ferocity of Delhi, butchering idolaters, men, women and children, in immense numbers. In 1518 this dynasty came to its natural end in scenes of drunkenness, debauchery and murder. It broke up into five fragments, of which the more important were Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda, the last named becoming Hyderabad, now the chief Mohammedan State in India.

As we survey India under Hindu rulers till the twelfth century was closing and under Mohammedan sultans and kings till the early years of the sixteenth century, the first idolatrous and the latter fiercely trying to stamp out idolatry, we are struck by the fact that both left India in chaotic misery. Huge armies, constant fighting, depraved luxury, hunted peasantry. It is not that a bright spot or a decent governor cannot be discovered here and there. Good is never left without witness. It is that the records as a whole unfold what horrors more or less civilized human nature can inflict when men do not know the character of God. Where there is no love, there is no God.

The Moguls.

These conditions, coupled with the increasing influence of Western ideals, prepared the way for the brilliant era of the Mogul emperors. Its sun rose in splendour, with some promise that love might overcome hate, and sank after the brief period of 180 years into the same gory mire from which it emerged.

As before, fresh vitality came from Central Asia. Babur of Kabul, a fine soldier, claiming both Ghingiz Khan and Timur in his ancestry, invaded India (A.D. 1525), overcame first the resistance of the Mohammedan sultans and then of the Hindu host commanded by the Rajput Rana of Meywar. Babur's son, Humayun, had a bad time, but his grandson, Akbar (1555-1605), practically contemporary with our Queen Elizabeth, was a great king and extended the empire from Kabul to Calcutta and as far south as Ahmednagar.

Akbar revolted from ceaseless slaughter of idolaters. He saw India divided by hatred and set himself to win the Hindus, specially by abolishing the tax on non-Moslems, the badge of

Mohammedan contempt. He was curious as to Christianity and encouraged Jesuit fathers from Goa. To the Sikhs he gave the site of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Akbar went beyond British neutrality and proposed to unite all sects in one eclectic faith, of which he would be the infallible head, but he permitted no persecution and sought to be the impartial king of all his subjects.

The renown of the Moguls is due primarily to the character of Akbar for tolerance and sympathy, and secondly to the magnificence and exquisite taste of their buildings. From Akbar to Aurangzeb they were remarkable men. They lost their power owing to the relapse of Aurangzeb to the fierceness of Mohammedan bigotry. So far was this carried, that Aurangzeb, who was a Sunni, destroyed the Shia kings of the Deccan, including Bijapur, and thus opened the way for the rise of the Marathas. Naturally, Aurangzeb had lost the support of the Hindus.

Aurangzeb died near Dowlatabad in 1707, broken hearted. The huge empire quickly fell to pieces. In 1724 the Nizams of Hyderabad founded their house. Oudh and Bengal both became independent Mohammedan kingdoms. The Rohillas established themselves in Rohilkhand. The Brahman Peshwas ruled the Deccan, while Gwalior, Indore and Baroda rose into States.

The canker of the later Moguls came from their domestic life—drink and sensuality—so that sons rebelled against their fathers and then fought savagely for the succession, the victor usually destroying the seed royal. Even in such courts there are instances of wives who, like Esther, commanded respect. The most familiar is that of Shahjahan. He married Mumtaz Mahal, niece of the celebrated Nurjahan, who had exercised so much power over his father, Jahangir. Between 1613 and 1631 Mumtaz Mahal bore him fourteen children. She died, aged 39, and her body was taken to Agra, which was the capital till the Court moved to Delhi in 1648. The Taj, begun in 1632 and finished in 1653, was raised by her husband to her memory. After her death, bigotry and lust debased Shahjahan, till his son Aurangzeb in 1658 imprisoned him in Agra Fort, where he died eight years later.

The Taj, its pure loveliness pointing upwards, broadbased on family affection, is India's testimony to the value of her women. India's wives and mothers have protected the sanctity of the home and the purity of family life. They have risen superior

to degrading conditions. Not even the Zenana has crushed them. Mumtaz Mahal is but the type of a womanhood which, rich in tales of the bravery, endurance, obedience unto death, of ladies of rank, has produced under the British peace the village life of the masses and is beginning in some towns to overcome caste and creed by co-operation for the common benefit. In this connection mention must be made of the varied and valuable service rendered by the women of India throughout the war both to the Government and to the fighting men without regard to race or religion. This latent power was a revelation. It has already been utilized to undertake the care of Zenanas in famine, to look after children's welfare, and is rapidly taking a share in communal and philanthropic work. If leading men wish to give the franchise to women, it is because their pioneer vision discerns that the rescue of India from licentious temples, debasing misrepresentations of God, self-destroying contempt for other people, will come only by the help of the women of India. Therefore the most high-souled daughters from the English-speaking nations are needed that education may be conveyed through channels which, as some of the safeguards now existing weaken, will fortify Indian girls by the manifestation of the power of the indwelling Christ to preserve the majesty of womanhood.

As the invasion of Timur in A.D. 1398 put an end to the Delhi sultanate and that of Babur in 1526 brought in the Mogul emperors, so that of Nadir Shah, the Persian warrior, in 1739 shattered the power of the Moguls, chiefly perhaps by carrying off the accumulated treasure, and left the people bleeding.

This defenceless state of Hindustan invited attack from both sides. Since A.D. 1737 the Marathas had been threatening from the south. In 1760, under their Peshwa, they moved north in force to assert their supremacy. The Afghans, under Ahmed Shah Durrani, had like ambitions. The armies in 1761 met at Panipat, the oft-fought battlefield north of Delhi, and there the Marathas received their knock-out blow so far as succession to imperial power was concerned. The Afghans returned to Kabul.

The year 1761 marks also the passing of India from Mohammedan and Maratha domination to British management. The Mohammedans had destroyed themselves. The Marathas were splitting into separate States. The Rajput resistance was exhausted. Haider Ali and Tippoo in Mysore, the Nizam

in Hyderabad, the Maratha chiefs in the West, the Sikhs in the Panjab, fresh invaders from Afghanistan, would doubtless have supplied a few more pages of sanguinary history, but deliverance was at hand. In 1761 the British had finally driven the French from India, and by their victory at Plassy in 1757 were bringing about the emancipation of Bengal from its effete Nawabs.

The decadence of Mohammedan and the rise of British power in India were parts of wider, irresistible movements. British command of the sea was enabling her to found our present Commonwealth of free nations, while since the repulse of the Turks from Vienna in 1683, of which Aurangzeb was aware, Mohammedan vitality has ebbed with accelerating rapidity in both east and west. Islamic rule has desolated, never benefited, any country it reached. Even Asia Minor, the family home, shows no success. Under British guidance, Mohammedan communities are transformed.

The Brahmans had a further opportunity to rescue India when they took leadership of the Marathas. Instead, they instituted a complicated system of robbery by violence, and offered no prospect that their rule would bring anything but spoliation and treachery. Sivaji, the founder of Maratha nationality, who died in 1680, had been out for "Gods and cows, Brahmans and the Faith." The Brahmans requited his zeal for Hinduism by supplanting his Raj. In the sequel, they failed even to weld the newly-formed Maratha States. Yet under British control, the Brahmans have become adepts in honest administration and in devotion to public duties.

Brahmans and Mohammedans have become the right and left hands of the British Government in bringing about the present material prosperity of India. The Indian princes have loyally maintained good relations with each other, and have begun to interest themselves in the welfare of India as a whole. When the British began to assume responsibilities, they found India torn, divided, corrupt, without ability to recover. At first these conditions became a temptation to some, but steadily the light from the homeland dissipated the contaminating influences, and eventually the Government Services in India for rectitude, impartiality and devotion stand unrivalled by the public service of any country in the world. They have been rewarded by seeing increasing populations with rising standards of comfort and self-respect, lands and harvests growing in value, important

industries and mines developing, and latterly the bolder investment of Indian capital, such as the action of the Mysore State in transmitting power generated by the Kaveri River to the Kolar gold mines, or of the Tata family in using water collected on the Western Ghats to run the cotton mills and trams of Bombay.

Not only has the face of material India been changed, but there are evidences of a remarkable revolution in moral character and even in spiritual conceptions. The Indian subordinate service is establishing a reputation for truth and incorruptibility. The freedom of communications, the public press, education, the common English language, the uniform ideals of the public services, the solicitude in seasons of widespread calamity, a universal penal code: these, among other factors, have been teaching the many races of India that they live on one continent under one Government. That Brahmans should first catch the sentiment of nationality is natural. Spread over India and separated by vernaculars, they feel now united as they have not been for a thousand years, though still fissured by quasi-castes. It is natural, too, that ambitions should stir their imagination. The Great War suddenly evoked fellowship between other races, and seems to be bringing to the surface a fuller recognition that there is one God and Father of us all. These undercurrents of thought unexpectedly find expression. For instance, at the last National Congress the Chairman requested the assembly—consisting of Indians of all castes and creeds—to stand in silent prayer for the soul of a lad killed at Amritsar.

The war has done more. The services rendered to the Empire have entitled India to be admitted a welcome unit of the British Commonwealth, with an important place in international affairs, and as a corollary India subjects herself to win the good opinion of the world. Commenting on Aurangzeb's long reign, Dr. V. Smith remarks, "his sons, benumbed by the crushing weight of parental control, lost all capacity for government." This concisely gives the reason why it was essential to seize this unique moment to give a substantial share in their own government to a selected electorate. No one can forget how recently order has been imposed on untamed passions, or that Brahmans and Mohammedans have failed to make anything of unfettered opportunities in the past. What has been the secret of British success with the same materials? Behind force there has been love, instead of covetousness there has been striving for righteousness,

devotion to the interests of the trusting masses has combated self-indulgence. These qualities, and the Bible which has produced them, are within reach of the new administrators, and it is because Indian members of the Government Services and Indian gentlemen of position have been exhibiting these qualities that courage has been found boldly to place confidence in them.

There are lines along which Indians may make faster progress, such as giving the Bible to the schools and colleges, a knowledge of which our neutrality has withheld from the boys and girls. More courage in taxation to provide the wider education without which an extended franchise is impossible, while it is at least likely that temples, idols, caste, social abuses and domestic wrongs would continue longer owing to our timidity before religious questions. Prohibition is sure of strong support. It is possible that the Indian Church and Missions will find more appreciation of their value and Indian reformers a stronger backing. There is hope, too, that, as Indian wishes prevail, Indian Christians will free themselves quickly from the patchwork of sects, which we have been struggling to impose on them, and that they will determine to have one Communion Table for all India. Similarly, India may be saved from the introduction of an ignoble Party spirit.

There are those who view the future with grave apprehension. We all rejoice that the bitter feelings between Mohammedans and Hindus, the cause of constant anxiety to our District Officers, are being bridged, but we could wish the use of a more permanent material than a common animosity towards ourselves. This disquieting feature is the outcome of agitation, and is temporary. It is the British who have guided distracted India into the semblance of a hitherto unknown national sentiment. It is the British who have made access to Mecca easy and safe, but if Indian Mohammedans confront Arab aspirations, pilgrims may be the sufferers. Early responsibility has forged the makers of our Empire. Let us trust that it will steady the youth of India. A son may share the world-wide impatience of any control, but when in difficulty he seeks out his father. We shall need each other. There are unknown forces generating in Asia. To meet them a united India is essential. However antipathetic these forces appear to be, they combine in the lust to loot, and Northern India is wealthy.

The king, out of the affection and devotion of the Royal House for his subjects in India, and from his heart concerned

for their prosperity and happiness, has sent forth a noble call to co-operation and goodwill between all classes. To such a message India has always generously responded. The new relationships will be judged not only by their attitude towards the conditions, which brought former failures, but by their removal of disabilities, which burden the members of other religions and of the depressed classes, by their sympathetic concern for hill people and criminal tribes, and by their furtherance of every legislative measure which has for its object the common weal of the masses, the multitudinous agricultural population. It is these interests which have made service in India a delight to our District Officers.

The Indian Civil Service has a grander mission in the future than even the pioneer work of the past, which has built the new India. If the new Ministers preserve efficiency and yet run it on rubber tyres, we shall thankfully learn the lesson. Those who have served in Native States will recall the ability with which important questions are handled, and the patience which instructs the people to understand them. A chief rules more by persuasion than perhaps we have done. The Indian Civil Service will soon find scope for this method, and its results are abiding. It will not be the personal work of the British officer, which is needed, so much as the standard and influence of his life. Therefore, the Indian Civil Service of the future must be once more staffed by the best men our Empire can produce.

From this very imperfect survey of the past and present conditions of India we conclude that the history of India, like its geography, is not a fortuitous arrangement, but under the guiding hand of a wise and loving God, has been over-ruled to produce gold from the roughest ore, pure incense from the wildest jungle. However dark the clouds, however probable the deterioration, we shall continue to believe that there is a noble future for India, and that her people will bring the riches of their patient, affectionate and religious nature to the feet of Christ.

We know that there are thousands of secret believers scattered over India; tens of thousands whose lives are more or less governed by Christian ideals; hundreds of thousands who have learned something about God as the loving Father of us all.

We know that the Scriptures, in all languages, are circulating in India at the rate of over a million copies a year, each copy consisting of at least one Gospel, and that there is much prayer behind these Books.

We know that the Indian Church is realizing its calling and that there are important movements towards Christianity. The influence of this body will become increasingly energetic, specially if the education of the children of Indian Christians, to enable them to occupy leading positions, is recognized by the Missionary Societies as the primary consideration.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. E. J. SEWELL said :—The paper to which we have all listened with so much interest suggests a great number of questions which come crowding upon us and calling for answers. In the course of his masterly sketch of the long panorama of Indian history which enables us to understand the present state of affairs in India by showing us how it came into existence, the writer of the paper gives us outlines and hints of his answer to one of these questions. It is the question which perhaps most interests this audience, *i.e.*, whether we can (apart from faith) reasonably expect India to become Christian. The chief obstacles to this are—on the philosophic side of religion, a pantheism which effectively divorces belief from conduct; and on the practical side—idolatry.

The writer of the paper tells us on pp. 63 and 64 of a remarkable revolution in moral character and even in spiritual conceptions, and of the influence of the Great War in bringing to the surface a fuller recognition that there is one God and Father of us all. That belief sounds the knell of pantheism.

As regards idolatry, we may, I think, trust for its eradication to the spread of education and to that instrument of unbounded power, the printing press. If men would only awake to its enormous potentialities and use it for Christ as it should be used, we should, I am persuaded, see a revolution in the moral and spiritual world of India greater than anything that has ever been known there hitherto.

We come then to the second pair of obstacles to the adoption by India of Christianity, *viz.*, the doctrine of Karma and the institution of caste. The doctrine of Karma, it has been pointed out, gives a rational sanction to the caste system. That one man should be born a Brahman and another a pariah is quite reasonable

if the difference is the just recompense of the actions done in a former life. Thus the doctrine and the Institution hang together: nor is there any doubt that caste must go if Christianity is to triumph. But the doctrine of Karma is admittedly a purely metaphysical one resting on no evidential basis whatever and its offspring caste is undoubtedly crumbling away.

The spread of education and the democratic ideals which underlie the new Indian constitution strike at the root of caste, while the habit of demanding evidence as the basis of belief is fatal to the doctrine of Karma.

We have therefore reasonable ground for saying that the trend of thought and the current of events in India are both in favour of Christianity.

There is one criticism that I think should be made upon the statement on p. 53 of the doctrine of Karma.

The doctrine is no doubt correctly stated as far as the definition goes. But a following sentence, "The idea is that after innumerable lives during myriads of years, the soul rises to perfection . . ." tends, I think, to give an incorrect view of the teaching of Karma. It seems to imply a kind of evolution, the final perfection being arrived at as the outcome of a series of lives increasing in moral value and ending in a life free from moral defect.

This is not, I think, the doctrine of Karma. This is stated by Prof. Deussen in his *System des Vedanta* as follows (pp. 381-2): ". . . the clockwork of requital in running down always winds itself up again; and so on in perpetuity—unless there comes upon the scene the universal knowledge which *does not rest upon merit*, but breaks its way into existence without connection therewith, to dissolve it utterly, to burn up the seed of deeds and thus to render a continuance of the transmigration impossible for ever after." The release from Karma is thus to be obtained not by the attainment of a morally perfect life, but by what is described as knowledge which cuts away all motives for action and ends in a state very hard to distinguish from annihilation.

It is very encouraging to find a writer of Sir Andrew Wingate's great knowledge and experience of India so hopeful, as the passage in the middle of p. 64 and on p. 65 shows him to be, of the outcome of the new powers given to native ministers: the ground of his

confidence is shown in his final noble paragraph with which I will bring these remarks to an end.

Mr. C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E., said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I venture to offer my contribution to the discussion, as I know something of India, for I spent thirty-four years in the Covenanted Indian Civil Service, and therefore had ample opportunity of gaining information on the subject before us. I have listened to Sir A. Wingate's paper with the greatest interest, but I cannot say that I agree with all that he has read to us. People in England have, it is well known, great difficulty in understanding the subject of India for two reasons at least. The whole country, its circumstances, the people, the history, everything, are so entirely different to the corresponding matters in England, and again Anglo-Indians differ so greatly in their views that people cannot tell who is right or what they are to believe. Sir A. Wingate's views seem to me too optimistic, and he does not, in his numerous suggestions, write with any certainty. I observe a number of such words as "may" this, "may" that, "if," "hope," "trust in," "likely," etc., all uncertain, and, indeed, indicating only possibilities. His views seem to be based on a trust in the recent Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, which are being, and are to be, carried out under the new Statute for the Government of India. Also, he seems to look, for the amelioration, for the advance, of India to the spread of religion, *i.e.*, of Christianity. I should like to say something on both these points, but really within five minutes it is quite impossible to do justice to such an enormous subject as India. In my time in that country we were expected and taught to aim at efficiency in the administration. We are now told that we must not mind inefficiency, if it results in the Indians being entrusted with more power and authority. In fact, the main object of the reforms is to take away power from the British officers in the Government, and to make it over to Indians, who have no experience of administration and have never shown the sense of the justice and impartiality which characterizes British rule in India. Many of us old Anglo-Indians view the future, as Sir A. Wingate has said, with grave apprehension. We foresee the friction there will be, the scramble for public money, the endless talk, the advocacy of selfish interests and of class legislation and aims. Party spirit is rife in India: we read lately in the papers of the

quarrels between the Extremists and the Moderates in the National Congress : it was notorious, in my time in Bengal, that there was what used to be called faction-fighting in every village in the Province : it is impossible to suppose that party spirit will cease.

Passing on to religion, I wish to say that I yield to no one in my desire for the spread of Christianity. I should, of course, like to see it prevail throughout India. But this must be considered as a practical question. There must be caution, or more harm than good will be done. The Government has to be neutral in religious matters. If, for instance, they were to interfere by introducing religion into the curriculum of education, there would soon be some dispute in the spending of public money, the Press would take it up, and there would be the cry of religion in danger, which might easily lead to disturbances, mutinies, rebellion, throughout India. So also as to the Bible : much as one would like to see it introduced into the schools and colleges, it is impossible that this should be done with the authority of Government. Nor is it likely to be done by Indians in positions of authority. I have often been told by natives of India that, though they have to be tolerant in public, they really dislike our religion, and that they hate the missionaries, who are regarded as enemies to the Hindu and Mohammedan religions : the people go to the missionary schools because they are cheap and the teaching is good, but they object to the missionaries themselves. We must not shut our eyes to the whole facts, and there is no use in believing merely what we like and wish to see in the facts presented. I am afraid, therefore, that it will be a long time before Christianity makes any great way in India, although each census shows that the numbers of converts increase, especially among the lower classes and primitive races. Is there, then, no hope for India ? I am no pessimist, and think there is still hope. But it will be so in spite of the reforms, not in consequence of them. Is it likely that as the Indians acquire more and more power, they will do anything to support Christianity, or the adoption of the Bible in schools and colleges ? Hope lies, I think, in the reserve of final power in the hands of the Viceroy and the Government of India, who, in the last resort, are responsible that India does not altogether come to grief. But, by these reforms, Government in India has been made more difficult : there will be more talk, less done, and less progress will be effected. This is not

the time for experiment or for increased taxation. Christianity may come some day, but it will assuredly take a long time, and we must not expect too much.

The Rev. Dr. KILGOUR remarked that Civil Servants often appeared on missionary platforms, but missionaries had fewer opportunities of bearing their testimony to the labours of civilians. As a missionary who had come into very close touch with Government officials high and low, he thanked God for the succession of noble unselfish men of the type of the present lecturer who had given themselves to the welfare of the Indian Empire.

One could not help admiring Sir Andrew Wingate's daring in attempting to describe in such a short paper the geography, history, philosophy, and religions of India. Yet, by concisely packing his information he has left upon his hearers the impressions he most wished to convey. A note of optimism had sounded all through the lecture, which must be very cheering to any who face the future with anxiety. In spite of political troubles and possible dangers he looks forward with hope that the India which has yet to be will learn from the lessons of the past. The generous tribute he paid, not only to the higher officials, but also to those in subordinate offices, is well deserved. Dr. Kilgour was very strongly of opinion that what India always expected from those who came to its shores was a clear and candid profession of religious faith. His own experience had taught him that one could have many friends even amongst those of different religions, and that the sympathy and affection of the Indian peoples was best won by a fearless acknowledgment of one's own faith.

Major-General Sir GEORGE K. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF said that he agreed generally with the remarks of the previous speaker, the Rev. Dr. Kilgour, and expressed admiration for the way in which the subject had been handled by the author.

Mrs. A. C. BILL said : May I add a few words to the discussion following the very interesting paper read by Sir Andrew Wingate this afternoon ?

In relation to the somewhat pessimistic views expressed as to a possible early spread of Christianity in India, it is my deep conviction that *when the Christian religion* is presented to the people

of India as it *was presented* by Christ Jesus in Palestine, its effects being shown in the individual healing of physical disease according to the faith of the patient; and when the prophecy of the "greater works" that shall be done by His advancing followers begins to be fulfilled in life practice—India will support no serious rival to this Christianity which fulfils its world mission of healing both moral and physical discord.

Mr. S. N. THAKORE, an Indian gentleman, added a few remarks.

REPLY BY THE LECTURER.

In thanking Mr. Sewell for his very helpful remarks, I would point out that "perfection" on page 53 stands for perfection as understood by Hindus, usually absorption in the divine essence. How far Christian ethics enter into the Hindu conception of perfection is doubtful, because the sense of moral sinfulness is so often absent. My recollection is that Mr. Farquhar in "The Crown of Hinduism" endorses the statement to which objection is taken.

While receiving Mr. Buckland's criticisms with the utmost respect, I venture to claim that he makes my point when he admits that the Bible can never be introduced into schools by a neutral British Government. The Bible is therefore permanently excluded. Its introduction at least becomes possible when Indians are dealing with their own community. They must ask themselves why they should deny to their children the finest writing in the English language and the reservoir whence English-speaking people draw their ideals. The suggestion that the people object to missionaries can only be true of a limited number of Indians. My experience in Native States and British India is that were missionaries not welcome they could not make their way.

My paper is intended respectfully and sympathetically to submit to Indians undertaking new responsibilities, the very thin crust on which modern law and order rest. The antagonism of Mohammedans to Hindus has only been modified by the British axiom that public peace is the first duty of rulers. Attacks on women in the Panjab and other occurrences indicate how easily the worst aspects of the past can be repeated. Therefore the one hope for the future lies in co-operation of Hindus and Mohammedans

with each other and with the British to maintain and strengthen stable conditions of goodwill between all classes. Some Europeans regard the new reforms as likely to make India impossible—Indian extremists continue to shout for they know not what. Between these two now not very considerable sections may be reckoned the vast majority of British and of educated Indians, who will put aside their views of what might have been and will do their level best to make the new conditions a success.

615TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16TH, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed and the Hon. Secretary announced the Election of the following Members and Associates :

Members.—Miss M. Mackinlay, Miss L. M. Mackinlay, Miss K. M. Cordeux.

Associates.—Mrs. H. Ellis Dobson, Mrs. Spackman, Lt.-Col. A. S. Roberts, W. E. Leslie, Esq., Ernest A. Dubois, Esq.

Life Associate.—Miss F. E. A. Parker, F.R.M.S.

THE SILENCES OF SCRIPTURE.

By the Rev. A. H. FINN.

THE Bible narratives are so vivid and often so full of minute detail that it is easy to gain the impression—and many seem to think—that we have a complete account of the whole period embraced. It is only on more attentive consideration that we realize how very much there is that is not told us.

There are long periods of which we know practically nothing. The 2000 years between Adam and Abraham are only broken by the narratives of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel; from the migration of Jacob's family down to the beginning of the Egyptian oppression, about 150 years, only two events—the deaths of Jacob and Joseph—are recorded; between the Old and New Testaments there is a lapse of four centuries only partly filled in by the Apocrypha and Josephus.

Even where the history does give us some records, closer examination shows them to be very fragmentary. The period of the Judges gives us a few remarkable names and incidents, but the greater part of the life of the nation is untouched; from the death of Solomon to the destruction of the Temple, we have little beyond the succession of kings, and even of these we have but few details in most cases; the activities of Ezra

and Nehemiah constitute almost all that is known between the Return from the Captivity and the close of the Canon.

It is much the same when we examine the lives of the most familiar characters. Abraham is said to have lived 175 years, yet of the first 75 we know nothing but the migration to Haran and of the last 75 only some half-dozen events are noticed.

Concerning Joseph, there is nothing of his early life, very little of his period of servitude and imprisonment, and nothing again of his reign as viceroy after the famine. Moses lived 40 years as an Egyptian prince, and another 40 as a shepherd in Midian; except his slaying of the Egyptian and consequent flight, and his marriage with Zipporah all of that period is a blank. The life of David is given more fully than most, yet of more than half, the 40 years of his reign as king, it is only a comparatively few incidents that are narrated. Elijah flashes suddenly like a meteor across the dark period of Ahab's reign; and how much is really known of the long lives of Isaiah and Jeremiah?

Most remarkable of all are the gaps in the life of Christ. It is a little difficult to realize that all which the four Gospels have to tell us relates to less than one-tenth of His earthly life. In the 30 years from His Birth to His Baptism there is but the one incident of the Finding in the Temple. Of the Apostles, too, we know something about St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul—and how little even of them?—while the others are scarcely more than names.

It comes to this, that a few great crises, a few marked lives, a few notable events are brought out in startling relief against a shadowy background. The silences of Scripture are almost more remarkable than the records.

It is very evident that all this shows a process of selection, for it is not the case that nothing more was known. The allusions to the books of the Wars of the Lord and of Jashar as well as the repeated references to the chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah clearly indicate that there was a mass of material which might have been utilized. The writers of the first three Gospels could not have been altogether ignorant of the events in Judæa narrated in the fourth, and St. John (xxi, 21) expressly asserts that there was very much more that was not written. The latter half of the book of the Acts is taken up with the doings of St. Paul; were all the other Apostles idle, and were there no events worth recording at Jerusalem, except the First Council and the arrest of St. Paul?

But then selection implies a plan and purpose on the part of the writers requiring the omission of what is not essential to the design. That is of course a characteristic of most histories, especially of those written from a special point of view. As a geological map will contain many features not in the ordinary map, and omit much which is found there, so a political history will, generally speaking, take little notice of religious matters, while an ecclesiastical history will pass by many a political event. That is excellently exemplified in the difference between the books of the Kings and those of the Chronicles, and it is simply unfair to assume, when the writers of the latter supply religious details not recorded by the former, that they were drawing on their imaginations, and "idealizing" the past.

Then, again, selection will often, perhaps chiefly, mean noticing what is unusual to the exclusion of the ordinary and regular. In the Book of Judges, for instance, it is recorded that "the land had rest" for 40 years in three instances, and for 80 years in another, yet of these prolonged periods of quiet, nothing whatever is chronicled. It is only to be expected that this will also be the case with regard to matters religious. The exceptional passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah are noticed just because they were exceptional, while elsewhere the observance of the festival is not mentioned. After the days of Joshua, the practice of circumcision is not alluded to, and there are only two or three casual allusions to the Sabbath (in 2 Kings): it would be rash in the extreme to conclude that these were unknown or neglected.

On the other hand, breaches of the laws would call for notice, and this would account for the mention of unauthorized places of sacrifice (including those at the "high places," of which so much has been made) and of irregularities such as Micah's images, Gideon's ephod, and the golden calves of Jeroboam.

From all this it follows that it is most unsafe to argue that because certain matters are not mentioned in the histories therefore they were unknown. A modern history notices the refusal to pay an unauthorized impost, such as the ship-money or the duty on tea in the American colonies, and might record a police strike; it will make no mention of the regular payment of rent, rates, and taxes, or the steady activities of the police, just because they are so constant. In precisely the same way the normal observance of sacred days, rites, and dues, or the performance of the duties of priests and Levites would be likely

to be passed over as matters of course just in proportion to their regularity. It is precisely the exceptions to the rule which are marked and noted.

The omissions from the history not only indicate that there was a plan and purpose, but, by throwing into bold relief the isolated events and characters which are recorded, enable us to trace what that plan and purpose was.

It is quite clear that it was not a comprehensive history, or even the outline of a history, of the human race which was aimed at. From Adam down to the call of Abram the interest is centred only in one particular line of descent. The Dispersion of the nations is just mentioned, and then the great majority of the peoples are left in silence and darkness; the great empires and civilizations that are now known to have existed are altogether passed over.

Next, the fortunes of the patriarchal family are followed, but still only in outline, and its offshoots, the descendants of Lot, Ishmael and Esau, only appear as in later times they come in contact with the Chosen People.

Is it, then, a history of Israel that is given? Again, we have only fragmentary notices. What were their fortunes from the time of the migration into Egypt till the Exodus? How much do we know of the 40 years in the Wilderness, and how long was the stay in Kadesh? See how difficult it is to form a clear idea of the invasion and settlement of the Promised Land, or of the troublous times of the Judges. There is a long list of Kings of Israel and Judah, but it is only of a very few reigns that any details are given; even the glories of Solomon's Kingdom are barely indicated, and the long and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II is summed up in seven verses. The period of the Return from Captivity is full of gaps. It is certainly nothing like a complete political history of Israel that is set before us.

Is it, then, a history of the Hebrew religion? Certainly the Pentateuch sets forth that the Hebrew religion was Divine in origin, derived in the first place from God's revelations of Himself to the patriarchs, and afterwards more fully from the revelations to Moses; that the Law, moral and ceremonial, was given in minute detail before the entry into Canaan; that God Himself gave instructions for the erection of a Sanctuary at which alone sacrifice should be lawful, and that this should be afterwards replaced in the Promised Land by a permanent Central Sanctuary "in the place which the Lord thy God

shall choose." But the historical books are largely taken up with records of how, from the Golden Calf at Sinai to the idolatries of Manasseh and the successors of Josiah, the people were unfaithful to even the most fundamental of these laws. That might be more fitly described as a history of Hebrew irreligion.

If, however, modern critics are right, the whole of this account is utterly misleading. According to them, the history of Hebrew religion was altogether different; the Law was not given in the Wilderness, but gradually grew up out of priestly oral decisions or prophetic teaching, and many of its leading institutions were due to priestly legislation of a late date; the Tabernacle never existed, and the Temple did not become the sole Central Sanctuary till the time of Josiah. If that be true, then the Old Testament is not at all a history of Hebrew religion according to the facts, but only an account of what later writers thought that history ought to have been.

Since, then, we have here not a history of mankind in general, nor a political history of Israel, nor a history of the Hebrew religion, are we to give up the idea of any unity at all, and look upon the whole as a chance collection of fragments having no coherent plan or dominant idea?

There is one thread which runs throughout, and that is the development of God's plan as revealed in His Promises. At the outset there is the promise of the Seed of the woman who should crush the serpent's head. By the catastrophe of the Deluge, the fulfilment of this promise is narrowed down to the family of Noah. That again is narrowed down to the Seed of Abraham in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed; and that in turn is limited to the line of Isaac and Jacob. In Jacob's Blessing, there is a hint of a further limitation: not among the descendants of the first-born Reuben, or of the fruitful Joseph, or of Levi, but only in the royal lineage of Judah is to be found the One to whom the obedience of peoples should be, foreshadowing His kingly dignity. Later on there is the promise of the Prophet like unto Moses whom the Lord would know face to face. Still later on, it is the house and throne of David that is to be established. The Psalter points forward to the King whose Name shall endure for ever, the Lord of David who is also a Priest after the order of Melchizedek. Isaiah foretells the coming forth of the shoot out of the stock of Jesse, the King to reign in righteousness, and portrays the suffering Righteous Servant of the LORD. Jeremiah tells of the Righteous

Branch of David whose Name is "the Lord our Righteousness." Daniel is taught of the coming of the Anointed One, the Prince. Malachi predicts the sudden coming of the Lord to His Temple, even the Angel of the Covenant.

This note of expectation of the Coming One rings through the whole of the Old Testament, but though the Promise is there, repeated again and again, and becoming ever clearer and more definite in the course of ages, yet up to the close of the Hebrew Canon it is still a Promise unfulfilled. The New Testament supplies what was missing by telling us how in the fulness of time He came in whom all the features of the various promises unite. In a special sense He was the Seed of the woman; He was the Seed of Abraham, and in Him the blessing is extended to all the nations; He was acknowledged the Son of David, heir to the throne, "born King of the Jews"; He, the Eternal Word, face to face with God (*πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, St. John i, 1) was the Prophet, Teacher, and Lawgiver; He was the Righteous One, "wounded for our transgressions," the great High Priest "of the good things to come." Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets had written concerning Him; the Gospels are records of Him; the Acts and the Epistles proclaim Him; the Revelation shows Him as the Lamb once slain but now alive for evermore, and prepares us for His final manifestation as "King of Kings and Lord of Lords." It is the Christ who binds all the Scriptures together in one. The Jews have no name for their Scriptures except a memorial word made up of the initials of the words for "the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings." Christianity brings together the Old and the New Covenants into one Holy Bible, through which runs the one great Purpose and Plan. That we are enabled to discern this Divine Purpose is largely due to the silences of Scripture.

So far we have been concerned with the silences of the history due to the passing over of matters not essential to the purpose. There are some other kinds of silence mentioned in Holy Writ. There is the silence of *patience* and *restraint*, as when the Psalmist (xxxix, 2) says, "I was dumb with silence, I held my peace"; or when to Rabshakeh's arrogant blasphemy "the people held their peace, and answered him not a word" (2 Kings xviii, 36); or when the Righteous One "opened not His mouth," but alike to false witnesses and unjust judges "held His peace and answered nothing" (St. Mark xiv, 61; St. John xix, 9). There is also the silence of *attention* and *expectation*,

as when "all the multitude kept silence" to hear Paul and Barnabas (Acts xv, 12) or when "there was made a great silence" in the hostile crowd at the foot of the castle-stairs (Acts xxi, 40). This again deepens into the hush of *awe* and *reverence*, as in Hab. ii, 20, "The Lord is in His Holy Temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him"; in Isai. xli, 1, "Keep silence before Me, O islands"; in Ps. lxv, 1, "Praise is silent for Thee, O God, in Zion"; and in Rev. viii, 1, "There was silence in heaven."

All these motives for keeping silence may be said to combine in those silences of Scripture which are not due to the omission of the unnecessary, but to reserve. Some things are left untold which we might well desire to know, and might even deem to be helpful. The Lord appeared to Simon on the Resurrection day (St. Luke xxiv, 34), and to James at some later period (1 Cor. xv. 7); what intense interest would attach to some account of those interviews, yet only the bare fact is mentioned and no details are given. Must that not be because what then passed was of too intimate and personal a nature to be made public? Is not that also the reason for our Lord's own silence on the Cross during the three hours of darkness? The thoughts that then occupied Him, the conflict He then waged were matters too sacred and too high to be divulged. Where was the Master and what was He doing during the week that followed the Resurrection, and in the interval between the appearance to Thomas and that at the Sea of Tiberias?

There are, too, subjects concerning which we are expressly told that knowledge is purposely withheld from us, as for instance, "It is not for you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set within His own authority" (Acts i, 7). So Daniel, when he would know the issue of these things, was bidden to go his way, "for the words are shut up and sealed till the time of the end" (Dan. xii, 9). St. Paul tells us of the man who was "caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter" (2 Cor. xii, 4). When the seven thunders had uttered their voices, St. John is commanded to "Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not" (Rev. x, 4).

On some great subjects we have only been vouchsafed very partial enlightenment, such as the being and activities of angels, both of light and darkness; the life between death and resurrection; the nature of the resurrection body, and the tremendous events which are to usher in the end of the age. There

are also deep mysteries about which much controversy has been waged, such as the origin of evil, and the reconciling of predestination with freewill, though at best we can only dimly guess at them, and it is not unlikely that they may be beyond the powers of our finite understanding.

Concerning all matters like these, where the Scriptures are silent it will be our wisdom to maintain the reverent silence of patience and expectation until the time when we shall know even as we are known. The Scriptures were given to make us "wise unto salvation," and we may humbly be satisfied that all which is really necessary for that has been imparted, though there are some things we need not know, and others we are not as yet allowed to know. It is not only with regard to judging other men that we need to learn the lesson "Not beyond that which is written" (1 Cor. iv, 6). If it is expressly forbidden (Deut. iv, 2; xii, 32) to add to the Law—a prohibition so grievously disregarded by Scribes, Pharisees, and Rabbis, and not always observed in the Christian Church—there is also danger in attempting to add to what has been definitely told us.

For this reason, attempts to fill in the history with details which must largely be conjectural are to be deprecated. We may lawfully, though with cautious reverence, supplement the information given by Scripture with that derived from other sources, such as the evidence of the monuments or what is actually known of Jewish thought and manners. Even this, however, should be done with reserve, stating these details as what may probably have been, not as definitely ascertained facts. The absurdities in the Talmud about Abraham and Moses, and in the Apocryphal Gospels about the early life of our Lord, ought to warn us against the danger of letting imagination run riot, as has been done in certain romances professing to give an account of the Exodus or of the Life of Christ.

Most especially ought we to beware of endeavouring to penetrate mysteries that have been deliberately withheld from us. The study of unfulfilled prophecy is both lawful and in accordance with the injunction to "search the Scriptures." Yet it is hardly safe to assert positively that certain prophecies, clothed in figurative language, are being fulfilled in the events of to-day; and to try and fix the exact date of the end of the world is surely presumptuous in face of our Lord's explicit declarations. So also the persistent attempts to enter into communication with the spirits of the departed and to peer into the secrets of the unseen

world are in reality a trespassing on forbidden ground. For in Deut. xviii, 11, the word which in our English Versions is represented by "wizard" means one who claims to possess occult knowledge, and "necromancer" stands for "a seeker to the dead."

We still need the reminder of Deut. xxix, 29, that while "the things revealed belong unto us and to our children," there are also "secret things" which "belong unto the Lord our God."

There is much of practical importance to be learnt by noting carefully the silences of Holy Scripture.

ADDENDUM.

The silences of Scripture may be compared to the inter-stellar spaces which by their very darkness enhance the brilliance of the stars, and mark out the forms of the constellations: when however the sun rises, both darkness and stars disappear and the whole sky becomes uniformly bright. It is much the same with the writings of the Old Testament. While as yet the Dayspring from on high had not visited us, the gleams of promise and prophecy shone radiantly against the background of human woe and sin, but more or less disconnected and scattered. Then the sun, the Sun of Righteousness, arose and at once all was transfused with heavenly light. The whole history is seen, through all the many fluctuations and changes, to be governed throughout and guided to one great and worthy end: utterances of psalmist and seer are invested with a fulness of meaning far beyond what could have been understood at the time when they were uttered: rites and ceremonies can no longer be regarded as arbitrary enactments, and the different sacrifices are perceived to be significant symbols of the true Offering of devotion, reconciliation, and atonement. Light, too, is thrown in quite unexpected places. There are passages in the Old Testament which do not seem necessary to the development of the history, especially in records where there has been such evident careful selection, and some of them not very edifying. Why should those long, dry genealogies at the beginning of Chronicles have been preserved? Why was the repellent incident of Judah's relations with his daughter-in-law thrust in to break the current of the Joseph narrative? The account of the two spies in Jericho being sheltered by a woman might have been told without laying repeated emphasis on her occupation. The story of Ruth is very beautiful in its tender simplicity, but was it important

enough to require a separate book? Was it necessary that the grievous sin of David should have been told with such circumstantial detail about the partner of his guilt?

The very first chapter of the Gospel history shows the need there was for being sure that an accurate record had been kept of the families in Israel, so that there could be no doubt that the Carpenter of Nazareth was actually the heir to the throne. In the list of Joseph's ancestors there given, four women and only four, are named or alluded to, and these are Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba. Why are these singled out for mention? Tamar was probably, and Rahab certainly, of Canaanite origin: Ruth was a Moabitess, and Bathsheba married to a Hittite, a fact brought into prominence by her being described as "the wife of Uriah" without giving her name. Further, three out of the four were sinful. Were there no good and faithful Israelite women among the ancestors of the Christ that only these four should be thought worthy of notice? Here is a remarkable instance of silence: the pure mothers of the chosen race passed over unnamed, and only those to whom discredit attached included. There must be purpose in this, and what can it be? Surely it can only be to indicate that this "Son of David," whose lineage was smirched by these terrible blots, came not for the sake of the righteous and the chosen people alone, but that His mission was to the sinner and the alien as well.

But then, how came it that these four narratives (and it is to be remembered that they come from four different sources) were included, and more than that made so emphatically remarkable, in the ancient books when so much that, humanly speaking, would be considered more important was disregarded? Was it mere chance that these seemingly irrelevant details were preserved in the records, and only seized on by the Evangelist in order to impart to them a significance which was not really theirs? Against this there is, first, the prominence they are accorded in the old books; and, secondly, the use the Evangelist has made of them. He has not drawn out and made clear their true significance, as he has done some of the prophecies, but inserted them in such unassuming fashion that they escape notice without careful scrutiny. The only rational conclusion is that these incidents were purposely inserted and made so noticeable in the early writings because of the importance which would attach to them many centuries later, and that demands a foreknowledge and a preparation for the distant future far beyond human insight.

So does the glory of the Christ—the Christ who came “to seek and to save that which was lost,” and to be “a Light to lighten the Gentiles”—reflect back upon and illuminate the mistier regions of the Old Scriptures, and show us that they were all under the guidance of one Mind. In this way, and in this way alone, the many differences that distinguish the various books melt away and are lost sight of in the light of the fuller Revelation, and the many elements which go to make up the whole collection of the Scriptures shine out like the firmament of the heavens to display the glory of God.

It is wonderful enough to find that, in the light of the New Testament, a clear plan and purpose is traceable which unifies the forty volumes of such different characteristics as go to make up the Old Testament, but the modern critical views about that collection would set before us something infinitely more startling. According to these, there was a still larger number of authors as well as a number of editors, most of them so obscure that their names are unknown and all remembrance of their existence has utterly perished. The writers were none too sagacious in the use of the materials at their command, writing down folk-lore, myth, and legend as veracious history, colouring the past with false tints derived from their own times, inserting as predictions uttered in bygone ages what were really notices of recent events, often betraying themselves by sheer anachronisms, evolving out of their own imaginations a structure that never existed, cloaking their own anonymity by the use of revered names, and attributing their own inventions to nothing less than Divine authority. Quite as inept were the various editors. They mixed up ancient documents with writings centuries later in date: they set side by side, or interwove intricately, inconsistent accounts of the same events: they put together quite unnecessary repetitions, or fit their extracts from different writers so clumsily together that they do not cohere: they arrange their materials in such an order as to give an altogether misleading view of the history. Yet the final result of all this patching and repatching, interpolation, glossing, and rearranging is a collection which for centuries has been regarded as genuine and sacred, and moreover displays the consistent working out of a sublime Divine plan!

Truly this would be an astounding miracle, which we might be ready to believe if a case of printer's type, put together at random, were found to spell out a poem of great beauty, or if the

independent daubings of a number of house-painters fitted together to form a masterpiece worthy of the greatest artists. The truth is that the critics have been far too narrow in their microscopic study of the Scriptures. Intent on petty details of variation of style, and what they regard as inconsistencies, they have been unable to see the forest for the trees. It is as though one were to concentrate his attention on the tiny fragments which make up a great mosaic, peering into the cracks and crevices which separate them, so intently as to lose sight of the majestic Figure portrayed by the whole.

What, then, is the delineation which in its grandeur transcends a scrutiny too minute? We have already seen that the silence of Scripture about so much which would have been of interest, which could hardly have been passed over by an ordinary historian, shows that the true subject of these many differing writings is the steady working out of God's providential design in spite of the frequent failures of man, but there is something more than this. The Scriptures combine to display a remarkable and indeed quite unique representation of the character of God. The study of Nature, now so immensely extended by modern facilities for reaching out to distant worlds and for investigating almost infinitesimal details, may lead, nay, has led thoughtful minds to some conception of the Wisdom which could plan and the Power which could execute so grand and so exquisitely ordered a work. But the Creator might have been both mighty and skilful without being good. It is true that there are many indications in Nature which point to beneficence, such as the lavish bounty which has provided for both the necessities and the happiness of the creature, but there is also much which can be interpreted as suggesting cruelty and ruthlessness. The fury of the tempest, the raging of volcanic fires, the shattering earthquake, the ravages of pestilence, the ravening beast of prey and the venomous serpent, the myriad woes and sufferings of mankind, all "Nature, red in tooth and claw," do not these shriek aloud of some malignant Power? Here where Natural Religion utterly fails, Revelation steps in to present a very different conception. It tells us indeed of a Being whose wrath is terrible, but that wrath is directed against evil. He can overwhelm the world in Deluge, but it is a world corrupt and filled with violence: He can bring fiery overthrow on whole cities, but they are cities whose "sin is very grievous," whose name has passed into a byword for loathsome and unnatural lust:

He can decree the extermination of entire nations, but it is because "the land is defiled . . . and the land vomiteth out her inhabitants" by reason of their abominations (Lev. xviii, 25). Even in these judgments, He shows Himself patient and forbearing. He waits, and His Spirit still strives with man, for 120 years while the ark is a-preparing: He is willing to spare the cities if only ten righteous can be found in them: He postpones the sentence on the Canaanites for 400 years because "the iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full" (Gen. xv, 16): nor does He leave them to sin in ignorance without warning. Noah was "a preacher of righteousness," and Lot, "sorely distressed by the lascivious life of the wicked" (2 St. Pet. ii, 5, 7), vainly tried to dissuade them from the wickedness they meditated: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in their goings to and fro, "called upon (*i.e.* proclaimed) the name of the Lord." In the same way God delivered His own people into the hands of their enemies to be led away captive, but only after He had "sent to them by His messengers, rising up early and sending . . . till there was no remedy" (2 Chron. xxxvi, 15, 16). Everywhere He is represented as Just and Righteous even in wrath, and withal Merciful and Loving. When He proclaims His own Name and Nature, it is as "a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth: keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty" (Exod. xxxiv, 6, 7). These qualities of Righteousness and Mercy are proclaimed in Psalm after Psalm, and re-echoed by prophet after prophet, till all culminates in the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, "just and true are Thy ways, Thou King of saints" (Rev. xv, 3). Again, He is a God of Truth, both in detesting all that is false, and in being true to Himself and to His people, "the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy . . . to a thousand generations" (Deut. vii, 9). His especial Name declares both His eternal existence, and also His unswerving faithfulness as the changeless I AM. All these characteristics—Righteousness and Justice, Mercy and Compassion, Faithfulness and Truth—unite in the conception of a Holy God, a conception unknown in the sacred books of any other religion. He is Holy, that is separate, not by reason of His exalted majesty or the might of His power, but by the essential purity and goodness of His nature. His day is Holy: His dwelling is the Holy of Holies:

His people must be Holy "for I am Holy": and, according to both Testaments, the anthems of Heaven itself are addressed to Him who is "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts."

Not less remarkable is the portrait drawn of Man. Yet not a single portrait, but rather a whole gallery of portraits. The stately dignity, generosity and self-devotion of Abraham: the fidelity to duty of Joseph as slave, prisoner, and ruler: the uprightness of Samuel: the complex character of David, shepherd, warrior, king, poet, loyal servant to Saul, and devoted friend of Jonathan: the piety of Hezekiah and Josiah: the wisdom and unswerving religious consistency of Daniel: St. Peter, the impetuous but morally timid: St. John, loving and beloved though fiery in his zeal: St. Paul, as earnest and thorough-going in his missionary labours as in his former persecuting ardour: all these, and so many more besides, how lifelike and real they are, though for the most part only delineated in the simplest of narratives without any attempt at word-painting or elaborate analysis of character. Nor are they represented as superhumanly perfect: the faults, the failings, even the grievous sins of patriarchs, prophets, saints and apostles are plainly recorded without any extenuation: they are men of like passions with ourselves. On the other hand, there are redeeming traits even in those who are represented as worthy of condemnation. Esau, worldly-minded and at one time murderously vindictive, meets his returning brother generously: Balaam, hankering after the wages of unrighteousness, cannot be tempted by silver and gold to go beyond the word of the Lord: Saul in his furious jealousy is touched by David's magnanimity: Ahab and Manasseh humble themselves in penitence: Herod heard the Baptist gladly, and was "exceeding sorry" at being entrapped into ordering his execution: Caiaphas showed something of patriotic care for the welfare of his people: Pilate made repeated, though futile, attempts to release the Innocent One. Nor are heathen and Gentiles destitute of all virtue: Abimelech is justified in pleading integrity of heart and innocency of hands: Nebuchadnezzar, despot as he was, is still "the head of gold," and in the end learns to acknowledge the King of Heaven: Darius strives to deliver Daniel, and mourns all night when he is cast to the lions: greater faith is found in the Roman centurion than in all Israel: Cornelius' devotions are accepted. Everywhere in Scripture (and bear in mind this is not the representation of one single author of

exceptional genius and sympathy, but many different writers of different ages combine to present it), humanity is depicted as frail indeed and capable of terrible evil, yet also capable of rising to heights of true nobility. Science may regard man as nothing more than the climax of Evolution, the most highly-developed of animals: pessimists may despair of the human race, and consider it doomed to ultimate extinction: Scripture consistently sets before us Man as pitifully fallen from his high estate, but none the less originally created in the image of God, an image defaced but not wholly effaced, and capable of renewal by the grace of God.

These are the two great Figures which stand out pre-eminently on the pages of Holy Writ: God in all the glory of His infinite Power and Wisdom, in the still higher majesty of His absolute Righteousness, Mercy, and Holiness; Man, entrusted with sovereignty over the animal creation to which he is allied on one side of his nature, potentially God-like in that he was fashioned in the likeness of God. The lineaments of both unite and blend in the portrait of the Christ. Truly human was He by reason of His human birth, and development from infancy to full manhood, advancing "in wisdom and stature." Like unto us was He in being touched by hunger and thirst and weariness, by joy and sorrow, anger and disappointment, by agony and death. Specially human was He in His tender sympathy for the suffering and erring, the weary and heavy-laden. Yet was His manhood an ideal manhood. Even unbelievers have been fain to confess the winning beauty of His character in its perfect balance of gentleness and fearless courage, justice and mercy, transparent truth and patient fortitude and flawless purity. In Him "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other," and we can find a wealth of meaning, far beyond what could have been intended by the speaker, in Pilate's "Behold the Man."

In like manner He displays the Divine attributes. His is the power that can control the forces of nature, dispel disease and infirmity, overmaster the malice of demons, and bring back life to the dead. His is the wisdom which can discern the distant future, can know what is in man even to the unspoken thoughts of the heart, can speak as man never spoke and can confute the wiliness of Herodian, Sadducee, and Pharisee. His is the authority which is "Lord of the Sabbath" and extends even to the Divine prerogative of the forgiveness of sins. His

is the Divine righteousness which denounces woe on the self-righteous and the hypocrite, on the impenitence of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, but His also is the Divine compassion which weeps over the doomed city, prays for the forgiveness of His murderers, and gently wins back the thrice forsworn apostle. In His death He was mortal as we are, but by His victory over death He was "declared to be the Son of God with power." Above all, He displays the supreme Divine attribute of Holiness. He can fling out to all the ages without fear of contradiction the bold challenge, "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?" Pilate's wife may recognize in Him "that just Man"; the centurion may confess, "Truly, this Man was righteous"; but the truth far surpasses either of these declarations. Of Him, and of Him alone among the sons of men, it could be truly said that He was "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners" by that separation which is indicated by the very words for "Holy."

There are those who, while confessing the ideal beauty of the life and character of the Christ, and acknowledging Him as our great Example and Teacher, will not allow that He could be actually Divine; and others who would explain away His miraculous birth and the reality of His resurrection, and attribute the accounts of His miracles and His own claims to be one with the Father to the mistaken zeal of His followers. Yet even these cannot deny that the outlines we have been tracing are those drawn by the Evangelists and in the Apostolic writings as we have them. In that portrait, the Scriptural features of the Divine and the human are clearly combined. It is the portrait of the true Superman, not superior to his fellowmen by the craftiness of his cunning or the ambitious "will to power," but superior in being "full of grace and truth," at once "Perfect Man and Perfect God."

Have we been wandering from our subject of the silences? Have we not here been considering rather what *is* said than what is *not* said? True, yet how is it that we can so unerringly discern the grandeur of what is set before us? There are paintings and mosaics that were found amid the ruins of Pompeii where sometimes whole scenes and sometimes single figures are set against an intensely black background. That framework of darkness throws up in high relief the grace of the drawing and enhances the brilliance of the colouring. So the silences of Scripture serve to define accurately and give added vividness

to what is portrayed therein. And this similitude may help to explain the greatest silence of all. For nearly nineteen centuries now the voices of Revelation have been hushed: no new manifestation has occurred: no new truth has been proclaimed. That is, as it were, the lower margin of darkness which shows that the picture is complete. In the portrait of the Divine Christ the work of the Divine Artist is ended, and we need no addition until the living reality of the living God-Man in all His glory is revealed to our adoring gaze.

DISCUSSION.

Lt.-Colonel G. MACKINLAY said:—Mr. Finn does well in calling attention on pp. 75 and 76 of his valuable paper to the fact that the selection of events and discourses for record, implies a plan on the part of the inspired writers, requiring the omission of which is not essential to the design.

Acting on this hint we have clues to the following questions which have long puzzled many.

Why do the first three Gospels omit all mention of the raising of Lazarus, since that miracle was the proximate cause of the crucifixion, arousing the intense opposition of the Jews?

And why does the fourth Gospel omit all mention of the Transfiguration and of the last fateful journey to Jerusalem, while all the first three tell of these events fully?

The answer to both questions appears to be that the three Synoptists and John have different plans in leading to the same climax, the death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and they have therefore selected for record only those events which suit them. Their omission are therefore accounted for.

In the Synoptic Gospels, St. Peter's grand confession of the Christ comes shortly before the culmination of glory at the Transfiguration, which is followed by the healing of the demoniac boy after the failure of the disciples. Little is said about the opposition of the Jews. Almost the next event selected for record by the first three evangelists is our Lord's start for His last journey, of His own accord, to death at Jerusalem (Luke ix, 51). The contrast from glory and success in Galilee to the voluntary death of shame at Jerusalem.

In the Gospel of John, on the other hand, it is recorded that our Lord was hotly opposed by the Jews at the feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, and that He constantly moved about in order to avoid the persecution of the Judæan Jews. Then we have the record of the intensification of opposition recorded as the result of the raising of Lazarus at Bethany, evoking the bitter persecution which culminated in the crucifixion.

Thus the Synoptists adopted one plan of conducting to the climax: they told of the voluntary journey to the death of earthly shame just after glory and success, with hardly any mention of persecution; while St. John adopted a different method, he dwelt on the great and increasing opposition of the Jews, which our Lord evaded until His hour had come. If either had narrated the special facts told by the other, the unity of each plan of leading to the climax would have been lost. Both plans are perfectly in accord with the events which actually happened.

It is sometimes said that the Synoptists did not tell of the raising of Lazarus from fear of injuring him, as he was probably alive when they wrote, and the Jews had "consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death" (John xii, 10); but John, writing long afterwards, was not prevented from recording the miracle by any such considerations. This may be so, but the other reasons just given for the omission are probably the chief ones, as they explain the omission in the fourth Gospel, as well as those in the first three.

Another instance of the process of selection to which Mr. Finn calls our attention is furnished by the ending of the Acts. Some think it has been lost, because no account is given of the death of St. Paul, though so much is told us of his life. But if we conclude, as no doubt we must, that the purport of this book is to record the work of the Holy Spirit, through faithful men, in gathering out the members of the infant Church from among the nations of the world, the ending, as we have it, is most appropriate, because the book closes with the attainment of a definite climax—the preaching of the Gospel unhindered in the world's capital by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, with good prospects of further success (xxviii, 28).

An account of the death of St. Paul would have spoilt this plan. The Acts is not a biography of a man, but it is an account of the work of the Holy Spirit.

I have great pleasure in expressing my thanks for the suggestive and stimulating paper which has just been read.

Mr. T. B. BISHOP said :—I think that Mr. Finn's paper is one of the most helpful we have ever had before us, and I hope that it may be possible to add it to the series of "Tracts for New Times" just published by the Victoria Institute, and to include some part of the postscript we have just heard.

There is only one point on which I should like to remark. On page 74 Mr. Finn mentions the period of 2000 years between Adam and Abraham. This is of course according to Archbishop Usher's chronology, but there are cogent reasons for concluding that the period was far longer.

Archbishop Usher's chronology was, of course, founded on the lists of patriarchs given in Gen. v and Gen. xi.

These genealogies have come down to us in different forms :—First, in the Hebrew Bible, then in the Septuagint version, then in the Alexandrian version of the Septuagint, and then in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The number of the years of life of the patriarchs differ widely in these various versions, and not only so, but there is very clear evidence that the alterations have been made intentionally.

It is clearly impossible to form a chronology from the time of Adam to that of Abraham on such data. Other facts show that we cannot take the figures as any guide to the period of time that elapsed between the Flood and the call of Abraham to Palestine. If we accept them according to the Hebrew Bible, Shem must have lived on far into the life of Abraham, which, of course, is utterly inconsistent with the history.

Then, if we turn to the genealogy of our Lord in Luke iii, we find that a second patriarch by the name of Cainan is introduced, between Arphaxad and Sala, whom we do not find in Genesis. This raises the question whether many other names may have been omitted.

And if we examine other genealogies of the Old Testament, we find without doubt that there are frequent omissions. The genealogy of our Lord in Matt. i, omits the names of four kings of Judah. In the genealogy of Ezra, given in Ezra vii, 1-5, several names are omitted, as will be seen from 1 Chron. vi, 3-14. An article on "Primitive Chronology," by Professor W. H. Green,

of Princeton, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, of April, 1890 (which is introduced in Dr. G. F. Wright's *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*), goes fully into this subject, and shows that this abbreviation of genealogies is characteristic of the Old Testament. We may, therefore, conclude that the list of the post-diluvian patriarchs, at all events, is probably only a list of the most prominent men who were in the line of succession between Noah and Abraham. And certainly the peopling of the world by the descendants of Noah, and the rise of the kingdoms of Babylon and Egypt, with their advanced civilization, seems to require a much longer time than Usher's Chronology would allow.

The Rev. A. CRAIG ROBINSON sends the following:—I am very glad to have been, through the courtesy of the author, afforded an opportunity of perusing his most interesting and able paper, with every word of which, I may say, I am in perfect accord. The author has, I think, given a most lucid and graphic unravelling of what seems to have been the thread of purpose—high—holy—and Divine—which runs through the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testaments. But he very naturally says, "If, however, modern critics are right, the whole of this account is utterly misleading." To my mind it seems to be capable of absolute demonstration that the true order of the Scriptures of the Old Testament is "The Law and the Prophets"—and not, as the German critics would have it, "The Prophets and the Law." On occasions too numerous to mention, I have called attention to three remarkable features of the Pentateuch, viz.:—(1) The absence from the Pentateuch of the name "Jerusalem"; (2) the absence from the ritual of the Pentateuch of any mention of Sacred Song; and (3) the absence from the Pentateuch of the Divine title "Lord of Hosts," so much in vogue in those later times in which the critics assert that the Pentateuch was pieced together.

These features in the Pentateuch are facts absolutely undeniable. No one can say that the name "Jerusalem" *does* occur in the Pentateuch: no one can say that any mention of Sacred Song *does* occur in the ritual of the Pentateuch: and no one can say that the Divine title "Lord of Hosts" *does* occur in the Pentateuch. What is the explanation of this complete absence from the Pentateuch of the name "Jerusalem"? Is it not this? That at the time the Pentateuch was written Jerusalem with all her sacred glories had

not entered yet into the life of Israel? What is the meaning of this absence of any mention of cymbals, timbrel, harp and Sacred Song from the ritual of the Pentateuch? Is it not this? That the Mosaic code, enjoining no music but the simple sounding of the trumpet-blast, stands far behind these niceties of music and of song—seeming to know nothing of them all? What is the explanation of the absence from the Pentateuch of the Divine title “Lord of Hosts” (which occurs for the first time in the Bible in 1 Sam. i, 3)? Is it not this? That the Pentateuch was complete—before this title for Jehovah was ever used in Israel? And in view of these and other undeniable facts, modern criticism—the “Graf-Wellhausen Theory” of the composition of the Pentateuch—like so many other of the cunning sophistries hatched in Germany, is—no matter what number of scholars should endorse it—logically, and absolutely, impossible to be true.

And therefore the order of the history and ritual of the people of Israel, as we have it set forth in the Old Testament, is undoubtedly the true order: and the paper written by Mr. Finn gives, I am convinced, a true and an eloquent exposition of the Bible’s majestic silences.

The Rev. CHANCELLOR J. J. LIAS writes:—I congratulate the Institute on getting another paper from Mr. Finn. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. Finn’s grandfather, the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D., late Professor of Hebrew at King’s College, London, and Rector of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge, from whom I learned Hebrew. Our Church owes much to Mr. Finn’s family. The cause of Missions was energetically supported by his father, Consul Finn of Jerusalem, and I can well remember his vigorous advocacy of C.M.S. work some fifty years ago, during his visits to England.

The first part of his paper has a strong evidential force, of which he says nothing. The remarkable “silences” in Scripture of which he tells us makes it clear that the sacred historian had a *purpose* in writing to call attention to God’s ancient promise, and its marvellous—and let me add, miraculous—fulfilment.

There is only one more remark I wish to add. It is the warning he gives as against paying too much attention to theories on the subject of unfulfilled prophecy. I remember more than one occasion when grievous injury to religion has been done by ignoring our Lord’s bidding not rashly to intrude into things unseen.

DAVID ANDERSON-BERRY, Esq., M.D.:—In the discussion following the reading of this excellent and interesting paper on the Silences of Scripture, may I bring to your notice an illustration connected with chronology. In 1 Kings vi, we find the time between the leaving of Egypt by Israel and the building of the Temple by Solomon ending in the fourth year of his reign measured as 480 years.

Now the same period as measured by the times given by the Apostle Paul in Acts xiii, is 574 years, or nearly one hundred years longer. Much has been made by some of this "mistake" in the Bible, and commentators are hard put to it to explain the discrepancy, none of their explanations being satisfying. However, when we study the Book of Judges and note the exact periods given there when Israel was under subjection to the nations that knew not God we find that their total amounts exactly to the difference between the two grand totals. Hence there is no *mistake* but a chronological illustration of 2 John 8, "Look to yourselves that ye lose not the things which ye have wrought, but that ye receive a full reward." In connection with the Temple, the service and worship of God, the years are not counted that are not spent in the service of God.

Israel is God's earthly people, and as the sun-dial marks not the hours during which the sun does not shine, so the Bible is silent when God's people are not in fellowship with Him. When a child it puzzled me much to discover the continuation of the Book of Acts. The history clearly did not finish. It was like a magazine story with "to be continued." "What had become of Paul, and what of Peter?"

I saw not that as Israel's rejection of their Messiah began with the martyrdom of Stephen at Jerusalem, so it ended with Israel's rejection of Him at Rome. Until the Divine hieroglyphics in which the Book of Revelation is written record the return of Israel to the land and the rebuilding of the Temple, the pen of the Divine Historian is silent.

Mr. W. HOSTE calls attention to a significant fact passed over in silence in the Matthean genealogy, that, of the 700 wives of Solomon, the one chosen to hand on the royal seed in the Messianic line was an Ammonitess (2 Chron. xii, 13). This marks still farther the inclusive character of Divine grace, to which Mr. Finn refers, as witnessed in that genealogy.

I think we can easily trace in the strange and contradictory character of Rehoboam the influence of the Ammonite and Davidic strains.

There is a class of "silences" upon which I do not think Mr. Finn has touched. For instance, the use of the blessing appointed for Aaron in Num. vi and of the form of words apparently assigned to Moses in chapter x, 35-36, is not once mentioned in the subsequent history. Are we to conclude that Aaron never blessed the people or that Moses never invoked the presence of Jehovah? Certainly not, but rather that they always did so at the right moment, otherwise we should have heard of the omission. The same conclusion is correct as regards the baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii. Much has been built on the fact that this is never once mentioned in the Acts. An attempt has even been made to foist another use. The attempt is based, I submit, on a false inference. How is it possible to suppose the formula of Matt. xxviii was not used at Pentecost? What could have happened in a few days' interval to displace it? I believe it was used then and at every other baptism in the Acts, otherwise comment would be made. It is very important not to fill in the silences of Scripture with human tradition, but rather with that which is logically and historically consistent with the framework of the truth.

Mr. E. J. G. TITTERINGTON writes:—During the discussion that took place on Monday evening, reference was made to certain omissions in the genealogy of our Lord as recorded by St. Matthew. May I call attention to an explanation of these omissions suggested by Mrs. A. S. Lewis in a paper read before the Institute a few years ago, in which she showed that the names omitted were those of persons whose family lay under a curse, extending to the third or fourth generation?

That the curse was considered to be thus limited is illustrated also by a comparison of Jer. xxii, 24, with Hag. ii, 23. Zerubbabel was apparently the great-grandson of Jeconiah; though it may be noted in this case that only one name was omitted in the genealogy.

An interesting example of the purposeful omission of names is contained in the first verse of Hosea. Though this prophet was contemporary with four kings of Judah and seven kings of Israel, only one of the latter was named, whilst all the kings of Judah are mentioned. As Hosea was distinctly a prophet of the Northern

Kingdom this circumstance calls for remark. The view of the so-called "critics" that the verse has undergone mutilation is untenable, for so obvious a discrepancy cannot have been overlooked. The explanation, which is simple enough, is given by Hosea himself (*see* Hos. viii, 4). The kings whose names are not recorded existed, it is true; but God took no cognisance of them. His dealings with Ephraim at this period consisted in leaving them to their own devices: "Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone." The omission is therefore perfectly natural and perfectly appropriate.

The Rev. HORACE A. JENNINS, L.Th., writes from Liverpool:—I have been deeply impressed with the paper and have long noticed the great gaps or "the silences." Natural curiosity and morbid human sentiment would like a picture of the Flood itself, and other facts. We are informed of its *results*. That result is the fulfilment of the Divine threat—or, as in other cases, of Divine promises, etc.

Thus we learn that God is looking on—observing all things—and that there is no such thing as "time" with Him nor forgetfulness (*cp.*, Ex. ii, 24, "God remembered"). Our Lord's "silence" after hearing of Lazarus' illness did not mean "indifference."

Compare also Jesus Christ's statement of approaching humiliation and death, Matt. xvi, 21. Peter had just declared his belief in Christ's divinity, Matt. xvi, 16. Did Christ's declaration *test* Peter's belief?

Communication from Mr. W. E. LESLIE:—In addition to the silences of omission in the Scripture narratives dealt with by the lecturer, there are two further varieties of silence to which his general explanation hardly appears applicable.

In some passages the wording is ambiguous. Two schools of interpretation might almost be said to depend upon whether the "he" in Dan. ix, 27, should be connected with the Messiah or the Prince that shall come. Again, no two expositors appear to agree as to the mutual relations of the clauses in Eph. i.

A second class of passages require for their interpretation a knowledge, once possessed by the contemporaries of the sacred writers, but which, in the providence of God, has been lost. The nature of the Urim and Thummim is an example.

The interpretation of some of the parables and the more obscure Pauline arguments might almost be said to form another variety.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS suggested as a reason for the omissions in Scripture that Scripture was intended to have a moral bearing and not merely to satisfy our curiosity. He said that too much could not be implied from silences, instancing the statement in Nehemiah that there had been no feast of Tabernacles kept since Joshua. He spoke of the unity of authorship underlying the whole of Scripture.

He considered that by the constitution of our minds we learned much by contrast, and referred to the way in which the Old Testament recorded the breakdown of the first man as "Head of the Race" (in Genesis), as "Priest" (Exodus to 1 Samuel), as "King" (1 Samuel to 2 Kings), and as "Prophet" (ending in the silence after Malachi); and the re-establishment of these things in Christ, the Second Man, recorded in Mark (as Prophet), Matthew (as King), Luke (as Priest), and John (as Head of the new race, the last Adam).

REPLY BY THE LECTURER.

The comments on the paper are, for the most part, so much in agreement with the general argument that there is little need for a reply.

The Samaritan and Septuagint differences as to the patriarchal ages alluded to by Mr. Bishop were of course known to me, and indeed they are fully discussed in my little work *The Starting Place of Truth*. If the longer period advocated by Mr. Bishop be accepted, that would only increase the significance of the silence concerning it.

The silences instanced by Mr. Hoste (p. 96) and Mr. Leslie (p. 97) really fall under the head of "the exclusion of the ordinary and regular" (p. 76). I am afraid I cannot agree that ambiguities can fairly be classed as silences.

Neh. viii, 17, does not assert that "there had been no feast of Tabernacles kept since Joshua": it only asserts that since that time the people had not dwelt in booths.

616TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, MARCH 1ST, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

THE CHAIR WAS TAKEN BY THE REV. PREBENDARY
H. E. FOX, M.A.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the following elections :—Mr. Theodore Roberts as a Member, and Mrs. A. H. Husbands, The Rev. Arthur T. Dence, Mr. Smetham Lee, Mr. M. Gutteridge, Mr. Alfred Dixon, Lady Borwick and Mr. Thomas Verrinder as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Professor A. S. Geden, M.A., D.D., to read his paper.

SIMILE AND METAPHOR IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

By the Rev. Professor A. S. GEDEN, M.A., D.D.

IN laying before you a few thoughts on a subject of the very greatest interest and importance, it appears to me to be unnecessary and irrelevant to discuss questions of authorship or integrity or date, and I propose to leave these and similar investigations on one side. They do not, I think, from this point of view, which is not primarily historical but exegetical and doctrinal, affect the argument and interpretation of the text. I shall tacitly take it for granted that with the possibility of slight additions, as ch. xxi. 24 f., the Gospel is the expression of the mind and thought of one author, and that author the Apostle St. John. If anyone dissents from this judgment it does not appear to me that he will or need of necessity reject the reading and suggestions that I venture to offer. These I trust will be taken on their merits, independently of authorship. They would, I think, be equally just if this treatise were traditionally anonymous. I have little personal faith in a shadowy or mythical presbyter John of Ephesus. At the same time, if I may be allowed to say so, I would not be understood to imply or plead ignorance of the difficulties of the view I have expressed. They are sufficiently serious. They appear to me, however, to be very considerably less than on any other hypothesis.

In taking up so wide and comprehensive a subject as that of metaphor in the fourth Gospel, it is not easy to determine the best point at which to begin. Nearly all language is more or less consciously metaphorical, and the thought and speech of the East is steeped in metaphor. The mind of the Oriental, more than in the West, approaches a subject not directly but by the way of comparison and illustration. It would not be too much to say that the most fruitful source of misunderstanding of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments has been the literal interpretation of figurative expression. Our Lord employs the picturesque and figurative speech of His country and time. In the early days of my apprenticeship to Biblical lore it used to be solemnly debated in commentary and sermon whether, when He spoke of the camel passing through the needle's eye in order to describe something absolutely impossible to human skill, He was not really thinking of the side passage in a city gateway through which it was just conceivable that a young or very lean camel might manage to creep! Most if not all of our everyday phrases and expressions are metaphorical in their origin. Outside of the rigorous statements and demonstrations of mathematics no language dispenses with metaphor; and mathematics is the only science which by the very conditions of its existence eschews its use and aid. It cannot indeed be otherwise, since we are surrounded by that which, to use the language of the mystics, "veils its reality." Especially, of course, is it true that only by the way of metaphor can Divine truths be conveyed to the human mind or set forth in human speech. The tongue of man is incompetent to describe or his mind to conceive the reality of God. Strip away the metaphor, and you deprive the words not only of their glow and beauty, but of their very meaning and relevance. The Gospel of St. John is perhaps more full of metaphor, in the stricter sense, than any other part of the New Testament, with the possible exception of the book of Revelation.

It is perhaps right that I should endeavour at the outset to explain the general meaning which I attach to the word "metaphor." I have used it throughout in a somewhat wide and comprehensive sense. The Oxford English Dictionary defines as follows: a metaphor is "a figure of speech in which a name or descriptive term is transferred to some object different from, but analogous to, that to which it is properly applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression." In other words,

a metaphor and a figure are much the same thing as they appear in the garb of spoken or written language. The one is Latin and the other is Greek; but you may call the phrase almost indifferently figurative or metaphorical, and the intention or conception at the back of the mind is practically expressed equally well by either term. To me however "metaphor" appears to be a process almost a habit of thought rather than of speech. Of course the thought, if it is not to be barren and unfruitful, must express itself in language, for its own sake as well as for others. But there are minds that run in metaphorical grooves, as well as those that are painfully exact and literal. The mental attitude is descriptive and picturesque, finds more meaning and pleasure in an appropriate simile than in the most painstaking and exact definition, and sees light and colour everywhere. Thus the mind of the East is pre-eminently at home in metaphor. It is in the realm of figure and metaphor that all mystics more or less consciously live, move, and have their being. I would venture to reiterate and emphasize again that one of the most fruitful causes of misunderstanding of the Old and New Testaments has ever been the reading of metaphor as though it were literal demonstration and phrase, like the clumsy tread of a giant in a fairyland of sunshine and gossamer. Metaphor as I understand it, and certainly as it is used in the Gospels and by our Lord, illustrates and illuminates a truth too profound for literal or precise exhibition in human language. No seer so revels in metaphor and figure of speech, whether reminiscent of his Master or original, as the author of this Gospel.

Against one further or possible misapprehension a *caveat* must be entered. It does not in the least follow that because a treatise or writing is full of metaphor it is therefore less true, if the expression may be allowed, or conveys its teaching with less precision and accuracy. In one sense at least it is more true, if truth admits of degrees, because it transcends the bounds of geometrical and physical description. It is in touch, if again I may make for it a high claim, with greater and Diviner things. No philosopher or theologian can disdain its use. In part at least it unveils the spiritual; and linking it to the earthly interprets each to each. It can do no more. Conformably to the experience of St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 4) the higher spiritual realities cannot be rendered or expressed in human utterance. They are not however on that account dreams but facts, which

may be partially at least comprehended, but to which no verbal definition or substance can be given.

The fourth Gospel begins with metaphor. The Logos, whether you render the word Reason or Word or Speech, or maintain that it is untranslatable and in its connotation comprehends all these three and more, is not a literal measure or term, like pound or rupee, but is a figure or simile, a title or convenient name, which in limited inadequate fashion sets forth the nature and function of Him Who in the beginning was with God and was God. He is supreme Reason and inspirer of the loftiest speech. But if you pour into the term all that you can conceive of majesty and power you have not equalled the Divine greatness of Him of whom the Apostle thinks and desires to write. "Logos" is a human word, of human coinage and associations, and behind it there is the limited human capacity to understand. It is as though at the very threshold and beginning of his teaching the Apostle declared his purpose to set forth the realities of the Divine life as he conceived or had been taught them in the terms which seemed to him most faithfully to image forth the truth.

Mutatis mutandis the same reasoning is valid for the abounding metaphor employed throughout the Gospels, both in the discourses of our Lord, and in the setting of the author's teaching and narrative. It would be tedious, even if it were possible, to enumerate them all. I propose to discuss a few of the more striking or unusual similes that are found in the text, and to suggest or refer to some others, where points of especial interest or importance appear to be involved.

The birth *ἀνωθεν* is a striking instance of a metaphor, which seems to correspond faithfully to the definition of the word above quoted. An adequate rendering of the term is perhaps unattainable. The English Revisers adopt "anew," with a marginal alternative "from above"; and the latter meaning would appear to be distinctly implied in ch. iii. 31, and in St. James' description of the wisdom *ἀνωθεν*. Elsewhere the word is of time, "from the beginning" (Acts xxvi. 5; Gal. iv. 9; Luke i. 3), or of direction in space or place, "the veil of the temple was rent in twain from top to bottom" (Mark xv. 38; cp. John xix. 23). If it is necessary to select here one or the other rendering, then undoubtedly "from above" corresponds most closely to the Apostle's thought. The conception of a fresh or second birth is subordinate in his mind to that of Divine origin. The former,

however, is certainly not excluded. There is Divine origination and execution superimposed upon the conception of natural or physical entrance into the world. But the very statement of the doctrine reveals the insufficiency of the human analogy or verbal expression. The one fact or experience is in the sphere of the natural, the other in the realm of the spirit. "If I have spoken to you of the earthly things and ye believe not, how will ye believe if I speak to you of the heavenly things?" (v. 12). The comparison or contrast with the earthly birth is appropriate, because the latter marks an initiation, a new development, with wellnigh infinite possibilities before it; like St. Paul's "new creation," *καινή κτίσις* (2 Cor. v. 17); the beginning of a new era, a life that finds itself in a new environment, heir to wider and loftier experiences. The analogy, however, is and necessarily remains imperfect. If the earthly birth admits to a certain extent of description, its methods and laws determined and its processes set forth, it is otherwise with the modes and facts of spiritual life. "The spirit bloweth as it will . . . thou knowest not whence it cometh and whither it goeth away" (v. 8). The heavenly transcends the earthly, and it is only suggestively and partially set forth in terms of mortality. The symbol is however a faithful reflection as far as it goes, not misleading but insufficient; and is not intended to be urged or emphasized in all its details, as the details of a picture may be expected to correspond with its photograph. Only in its general outline as it were, and the essential points of its representation is the truth to be sought and found.

The three so-called "great words" of St. John's teaching—Light, Life and Love—(*φῶς, ζωή, ἀγάπη*) are all in a more or less degree figurative and suggest or imply a metaphorical content. They are words borrowed from human thought and experience to describe Divine relations and character. For this purpose they are insufficient, as all finite terms are unequal to the exposition of the infinite. They illustrate or illuminate in part; but they cannot attain to adequacy or fullness of definition. This again, let me repeat, does not imply that the characterisation is erroneous, still less misleading. It is true, as far as it goes; and in some instances surely it carries us far. But of necessity it falls short of exact and complete analysis. Human thought is as deficient as human language in any terms that would adequately set forth the superhuman and Divine. God is light and love; but not the physical light and human love which we

know, nor even these raised to their highest power and freed from all the limitations and defects associated with them in our experience, but something greater, beyond the power of imagination to conceive or of language to utter. With the imagery and conception of "life" (xi. 25; xiv. 6; cp. 1 John i. 2) it is natural to compare the living water (ὕδωρ ζῶν, iv. 10), and the bread of life (ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, vi. 35, 48; cp. ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν, *ib.* 51). The former might be illustrated by the familiar use of the term "living" of water, to denote fresh or running water as contrasted with stagnant or salt. Perhaps, however, the most highly metaphorical discourse recorded in the Gospel is that on the bread of life, coming down from the heaven (vi. 50 f., 58). Even the disciples, accustomed as they were to Oriental veil and imagery, found it a hard saying (σκληρὸς ὁ λόγος, ver. 60), and many retreated from fellowship and company with Jesus. He tells them plainly that His words are not literal, but of spiritual interpretation, they are spirit and life (ver. 63). It is not a question of fleshly eating and drinking, but of the most intimate spiritual communion, which the assimilation within the body of food and drink may illustrate but cannot explain.

In the tenth chapter we have the well-known and important figure of the good shepherd. Here simile approaches parable; and it is indeed not easy in all instances to demarcate a clear line between them. The harrying of the deserted flock, the flight of the hireling shepherd at the apparition of the wolf, the recognition by his own sheep of the true shepherd and their contented following at his call—all these details build up a real picture, as vivid and moving as it is true to life. The freedom of metaphorical speech and teaching is illustrated in vv. 7 ff., where the speaker is now the gate through which the flock pass to safety and pasturage, and now the good shepherd who defends them at the cost of his own life. As so often in the reported discourses of this Gospel, metaphor and interpretation are so nearly intertwined that to separate them in strict logic, as it were, is impracticable. They meet, for example, in ver. 16 in the thought of the other sheep, who are not of this fold. It is one of the rare instances in which the narrator seems to lift his eyes and thought from the Jews, his fellow-countrymen. They shall become one flock (*v.l.*, *γενήσεται*, there shall come into being)—not of course one fold—under the guardianship of one shepherd.

In a real sense the metaphor or parable here culminates not in the unity of the flock, but in the self-sacrifice of the shepherd.

And the writer in his exposition or report lays stress upon the fact that this self-sacrifice is voluntary, and is a motive or ground of the Father's love (vv. 17, 18). Thus again metaphor and interpretation, comparison and the subject compared, meet, and the inadequacy of the simile to the truth which it is designed to set forth becomes apparent. The sheep, the fold, the wolf, the rightful shepherd, all the external features of the simile, belong as it were to the mortal and temporal sphere, in which the life laid down is laid down once and for all. The interpretation transcends this meaning and the earthly sphere. The Good Shepherd abandons His life that He may take it again (ver. 18) and is Himself the one Shepherd of the united flock. For the moment the thought is pursued no further, or at least the reporter has not preserved for us any further continuation of the discourse, or given any clue to the significance of the other parts of the parable. Some of them we interpret without difficulty, or we are more or less familiar with a traditional interpretation. A similar difficulty or reticence meets us in other instances. It is as though it were upon the dominant significance of the voluntary death and renewal of life of the Good Shepherd that it was desired without distraction to concentrate attention; as a skilful painter makes all the details of his picture subservient to the central theme.

A further striking though simpler metaphor, one that has been adopted into popular and ordinary speech, is the sleep of Lazarus (ch. xi. 11). The misunderstanding of the disciples is entirely simple and natural; and Christ at once corrects it. The analogy of course between physical death and the sleep of the body has been recognised by many peoples, and no doubt goes further than a mere superficial resemblance. Christ was not the first to use the analogy, as He has not been the last. In the instance of Lazarus there was a peculiar appropriateness in the phrase, suggesting and doubtless intended to suggest that the interruption to the activity of the bodily faculties and to the expression of the vital powers was only temporary, that these capacities were to be restored, as at the awakening from sleep.

Two of the greater metaphors of the Gospel, as they may be called, claim more than a passing reference. The distinction of greater or less is indeed artificial, and of no practical value or importance. All the likenesses and similes of the evangelistic teaching are instructive, and contribute to our knowledge of the

mind of the Master and of His disciple. Nor is it meant that Christ Himself laid more stress on one than on another. There are some however, which seem to offer a more definite and satisfying insight into spiritual truth and the relations of God to man, while others we think to be more limited in range, and expressive to a less degree, if I may use the term, of the Divine purpose or will. Perhaps judgement in this respect goes entirely astray.

The metaphors indicated, highly charged with spiritual significance and instruction, are those of the harvest in the fourth chapter and the true vine in the fifteenth. The latter is elaborated in greater detail than any other representation or picture in the Gospel. The speaker is Himself the true, the genuine (*ἀληθινή*) vine. His Father is the husbandman; His hearers the branches. And the simile is carried forward, as it were, into the future history and fate of the branches, until it gradually fuses, as so often in the discourses of the fourth Gospel, with the highest ethical and spiritual precept and exhortation. Once more however, the figure must not be pressed unduly in particulars. No analogy goes, as has been said, on all-fours. There is of necessity inequality and divergence in some respects between the simile and the meaning or lesson it is intended to convey. The resemblance is never complete, or equivalent to identity. In the world of nature the branches *are* the vine, and the latter exists only in and through them; they are throughout of the same nature, possessed of the same properties and vitality. While the branches cannot live except in the vine (ver. 6); if they are lopped off, they wither and perish; so on the other hand the vine cannot and does not live except in the branches, and unless it puts forth branches and leaves and fruit, it is at the best dormant and quickly perishes. If that is Christ's meaning, it is pantheism; and some have found pantheism and pantheistic teaching here. Where analogy and metaphor venture farthest into detail, they most clearly reveal their own inadequacy. The spiritual content always exceeds and overflows the limitations of the earthly figure.

The figure of the harvest (*θερισμός*, iv. 35) is so familiar, and has been so fully adopted in secular as well as in sacred literature, and in ordinary thought, that it seems hardly to need comment or illustration. It is more fully elaborated under the form of a parable in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. xiii. 30 ff.; Luke x. 2) and interpreted by Christ Himself; and it reappears in the

Book of the Revelation (xiv. 15 f.). In the brief use which Christ makes of the figure in the fourth Gospel, the literal and the figurative meanings of the word are so closely intertwined that the distinction between them is not perhaps readily or obviously made; and by some commentators curious inferences have even been drawn as to the time of year at which Jesus was speaking. It is in the highest degree improbable that any such thought was present to the mind of the speaker or writer. But though the earthly harvest must await its appropriate season, the sight of the approaching Samaritans, many of whom were ready to believe on Him, suggests that there is no delay to the harvest of the spirit. The fields are already white to harvest. And He commissions His disciples to go forth and reap.

Some of the most striking metaphors or analogies are conveyed in brief allusion or phrase, and they have often become so familiarised by use that their origin in comparison or metaphor has been overlooked, and their force thereby in not a few instances enfeebled. It would not be feasible to enumerate them all. Nor does it lie within the scope of this paper to comment on the relation which these bear to the text or doctrine of other parts of the New Testament. It may be pertinent, however, to indicate the suggestive use which the author of the Book of the Revelation has made of the metaphorical teaching of the Gospel. His thought is saturated with the emblems and figures of the Evangelist, and he works these up into the richly-coloured paintings of the Seer. There is here, I believe, a fruitful and almost unworked field of research into the relation of the two books, which has no little value for the exposition and significance of each.

In some instances emphasis is given to the speaker's words by reminiscence of Old Testament history and teaching, or by the circumstances in which they were uttered. A well-known example of the latter is ch. viii. 12, "I am the light of the world," spoken or supposed to be spoken at the hour when the Temple and its courts were ablaze with lights, and the contrast therefore is made more striking between the earthly illumination which would so soon burn dim and disappear and the abiding light of His presence. The bread of God (*ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, vi. 33), and the food that endureth unto eternal life (*ἡ βρώσις ἡ μένουσα εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, vi. 27) carry with them a figure that would appeal all the more forcibly to the Jews, as they thought of their fathers'

sustenance in the wilderness and the rapidly vanishing manna, which melted away in the morning's sunshine (Ex. xvi. 21). So also the language of the declaration or prophecy of Jesus that lifted up from the earth He would draw all men unto Him (xii. 32) would possibly convey to his hearers a clearer appreciation of their meaning as their thought was carried back to the serpent of brass, at the sight of which the stricken Israelites were healed (cp. iii. 14, "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness"). So again the *Lamb* of God (ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. 29) is a fitting emblem or type of the Christ not only or chiefly because of the nature of the symbol chosen, but because of its associations in the mind of every Jew with the atoning sacrifices of the old covenant in the Temple.

There are, further, two occasions at least on which Christ Himself or the Evangelist adds a word of explanation, as though there were danger of the metaphor being misunderstood or misapplied. To us these appear so familiar and easy that we are apt, I think, to underrate the difficulty which they must have presented to those who heard the words for the first time, and to whom this method of conveying instruction was apparently strange. "Destroy this temple" (ii. 19) is Christ's answer to the demand of the Jews for a sign, "and in three days I will raise it." The writer of the Gospel adds the note that He was speaking concerning the temple of His body (ver. 21); that He meant by "this temple" not the pride of the city in marble and stone that cost so many years' labour in building, but His own body, the earthly temple of the Son of God. And the Evangelist significantly adds that after His Resurrection the disciples remembered the saying and their faith in Him and in His word was strengthened (ver. 22).

The other occasion was one of the rare instances in which Christ illustrated and enforced His teaching by symbolic act as well as by figurative speech. He himself explains His action as a *ὑπόδειγμα* (xiii. 15), a pattern or ensample—the only place in which the word occurs in the Gospels—but the *ὑπόδειγμα* conveys and was intended to convey more than lies upon the surface. The writer of this Gospel never records an incident for the purpose merely of narrating historical fact. His interest is in the concealed and spiritual meaning. For the disciples physically to wash one another's feet was no fulfilment of their Master's command. We never read that they so misconstrued His intention and thought. And the literal obedience formally

and at set times rendered by some prelates of the Christian Church was as futile as it was unintelligent. The outward washing is a symbol of that which they especially need, to be clean "every whit" (*καθαρὸς ὅλος*, ver. 10); and in the endeavour to secure this, and in the application of the remedy for uncleanness they are to be ministers and helpers one of another (ver. 15).

Other metaphors of the Gospel are perhaps less easy to classify. Of these one is more or less common to the thought of the whole New Testament, and is familiar especially to St. Paul; another is found only in this Gospel, in the reports of our Lord's teaching, and in the writer's own narrative. Without further comment or explanation the phrase *οἱ νεκροί* (the dead) is used of those spiritually dead equally with those who have physically ceased to live in the flesh. A play upon the contrasted thought or idea has been found in the well-known utterance of Christ recorded in the Synoptists, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead" (Matt. viii. 22; Luke ix. 60), interpreted, and no doubt rightly, to mean that earthly burial may well be cared for by those who are of the earth and have no higher aspirations or pursuits. The claims of the spiritual kingdom of God, its furtherance and proclamation, must override all others. Twice at least in this Gospel, but in the same discourse, Christ employs the word with this higher or metaphorical meaning; I am not sure that He does not read into it both meanings at once, but the spiritual is uppermost in His thought. The Father "giveth life" (*ζωοποιεῖ*, v. 21) to those whom He raiseth from the dead, and so also the Son quickeneth whom He will. That is not physical resurrection or life. The New Testament knows nothing of a re-creation of physical existence. A few moments later in His discourse Christ speaks of the coming hour when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God (ver. 25, cp. 28), and they who have heard (*ἀκούσαντες*) will receive the gift of life. The latter verse perhaps indicates that again the twofold meaning is present in His mind. There will be no tenant left of an earthly tomb. At the summons of His voice they will come forth, and then only will the distinction be drawn between the well-doers and the wicked. The contrasted word *ζωή*, of so frequent recurrence in this Gospel (more than twice as often in St. John than in the three Synoptists together) seems always to connote to the writer the higher life of the spirit. The Apostle records also with great frequency the use by the Master of another term of wide import in a derived or metaphorical application. He does not appear so to use it himself,

although he reports a similar use at least on the part of others (cp. xii. 19; xiv. 22). The world (*ὁ κόσμος*) in St. John's Gospel is not, except in a few instances (*e.g.*, i. 9 f.; xvi. 28, 33; xviii. 36), the mere physical universe, constituted of material substance, but the world of life, as tainted and dominated by moral evil, from the control of which He has entered into the world to save it (iii. 17; xii. 47). He is thus, while not of this world as they to whom He speaks are (viii. 23), the light of the world (viii. 12). It is this world that knoweth not the Father (xvii. 25), and from the evil of which He prays that His own may be delivered (xvii. 15). This metaphorical meaning of "the world," with all its doctrinal importance and inferences, reappears in the first Epistle of St. John, and is frequently employed by St. Paul; but it is absent from the Synoptic Gospels, and from the first Epistle of Peter, although it occurs in the second. Nor is it found in the book of the Revelation.

Finally some of the greatest sayings of the Gospel, as reported by the writer, if they are not in the strict sense parable or metaphor, move within the region where suggestive simile and literal expression meet. Of such are words or phrases with a double import or meaning, of which there are many in the Apostle's record, and some of these were misunderstood by the hearers in a way that seems to us strange. The bread from heaven (vi. 33, 58), and the eating of the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His blood (ver. 53) are examples. "Ye shall seek Me, and shall not find; and where I am, ye cannot come" (vii. 34; cp. xiii. 33); "he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father" (xiii. 9); "if a man keep My word, he shall never see death" (viii. 51), with many others, are instances in which the more profound significance of the Speaker's words failed to reach the thought and understanding of at least the more loud-voiced and forward part of his audience.

A last example to which I would refer is that in which the utterance of spiritual truth seems to enter into nearest contact with human prejudice and passion. Christ has been declaring the conditions of eternal life, and meeting the controversial charges which the Jews preferred against Him. Finally, as they are still uncertain and perplexed by his declaration of Abraham's vision of His day and gladness thereat (viii. 56), which they interpret of bodily sight (ver. 57), He formulates His own claims and asserts His own Divine prerogative and being: "Before Abraham came to, *be* I am" (viii. 58, *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ*

γενέσθαι ἐγώ εἰμι). The last phrase has been supposed to have carried with it to a Jew the connotation of the Divine ineffable Name. In their ears it was the assertion by a man of equality or identity with God. There was no further parley or misunderstanding. It was for unforgiveable blasphemy that they took up stones to stone Him.

That the writer of the Gospel is a mystic is therefore abundantly evident, and his place is among the greatest and most spiritually minded mystics of any age or country. No one, I venture to think, who is out of sympathy with mystical thought and aspiration can appreciate his Gospel. It is not the exposition of a doctrinal system, still less the formulating of dogma or of a canon or rule of instruction. It is the search of a soul for truth and for God under the guidance of the Master whom he revered. The traditional portraits of St. John the Apostle attest the character of the mystic. As you look upon the painting you feel that if that man wrote a Gospel it would be such a one as we possess; not set in the hard and fast lines of literal speech or of necessary chronological succession, but instinct with life and light and love, with loyalty to the highest truth expressed, and as it were personified in the Christ; subordinating the letter to the spirit, with an intensity of longing and aspiration that only the Divine can satisfy. Such, if I am not mistaken, is the fourth Gospel, the Gospel according to St. John.

DISCUSSION.

The-CHAIRMAN (Prebendary H. E. Fox) thanked Professor Geden for the paper, which admirably combined scholarly skill with spiritual sense.

Lt.-Col. MACKINLAY said: The Professor's paper is very attractive, and expressed in beautiful diction.

Sir Isaac Newton made a true and shrewd observation when he remarked that, following the custom of the prophets of old, our Lord and His forerunner, John, very frequently referred to things actually present in their parabolic discourses.

Our author on p. 107 thinks that our Lord followed this rule when He called Himself the Light of the World because there were brilliant lights before Him at the time, at the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem; but on the same page it is difficult to understand

why the Professor thinks that this rule was *not* followed when our Lord uttered His words about the harvest. Nothing in the context contradicts the supposition that it was then summer time.

A very interesting simile is contained in the seventh verse of the first chapter of this Gospel, in which John the Baptist is compared to the morning star and our Lord to the sun. As the planet heralds the coming of the sun, so did the Baptist herald the coming of our Lord. This simile is frequently made in Scripture (Mal. iii. 1; iv. 2; Luke i. 76, 78; Matt. xi. 10; John iii. 28, 30; etc.). It has been recognised by Dr. F. B. Meyer,* and probably by others, for Dryden† used this figure when he wrote of the Duke of Monmouth, "Fame runs before him, as the Morning Star."

This raises an interesting point. There are some eighty mentions of John the Baptist in the Gospels, during and just before our Lord's ministry. Many of these references are contained in parallel passages in different Gospels, and in some instances the Baptist's name is repeated several times during one discourse. The various occasions of references to him may therefore be reduced to a very much smaller number of groups. In each group approbation or rejection is expressed. According to Sir Isaac Newton's observations, we may expect to find that the morning star was actually shining on the days when approbation was expressed, and not shining when He was rejected. This is found to be actually the case, if the generally accepted date, A.D. 29, is taken for the Crucifixion at the end of a ministry of three years and a half.

The periods of shining of the morning star in the first century are well known from ordinary astronomical calculations, and a reliable chronology of the ministry has now been found. We have not space to prove this here, but it is mentioned as an example of the unlooked-for results to which Scriptural simile and metaphor may conduct us.

There seem to be examples in this Gospel of what may be called double similes; for instance, our Lord spoke of the Baptist as "the lamp that burneth and shineth" (John v. 35, R.V.). A lamp is a very appropriate simile for the morning star, as everyone who has watched its rising in the darkness of the night must allow.

Our Lord made use of the second part of the same simile when

* *John the Baptist*, pp. 7 and 75.

† *Absalom and Ahitophel*.

He called Himself "the Light of the World" (John viii. 12), for the sun is most certainly the light of the whole earth.

Holman Hunt's picture of the Light of the World, beautiful as it is, entirely misses the point, and the force of this simile, because he represents our Lord provided with a very poor artificial light, reminding us of the words about the burial of Sir John Moore when the lantern was dimly burning—a much lesser light than that at the Feast of Tabernacles, whereas the sun is infinitely greater in brilliance.

Our warm thanks are due to the Professor for his helpful and suggestive paper on this important subject.

The Rev. Dr. J. AGAR BEET said: Dr. Geden was for fourteen years my colleague at the Wesleyan College, Richmond, and throughout that time I found him a fully reliable and very helpful friend. The teaching about Christ in the Fourth Gospel is a definite and most valuable addition to that in the other Gospels. Its immense superiority to everything else in pre-Christian literature, Jewish or Gentile, and its controlling influence on Christian thought in all ages, point to Christ as its only possible ultimate source. If so, it is much more likely that the record is due to the Beloved Disciple, who can be no other than the Apostle John, rather than to some unknown writer whose memory has altogether passed away.

Moreover, Paul's central doctrine (Rom. i. 16) of salvation by faith is clearly implied in John iii. 15-18 and elsewhere, and is thus traced to the lips of Christ. The great words *God is Love*, in 1 John iv. 8, 16, are a definite advance on, yet a fair inference from, all other teaching in the New Testament. In them is revealed the guidance of the Spirit of God.

Lt.-Col. M. A. ALVES said: On p. 100, upper part, the reader has struck at one of the tap-roots of the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, viz., "the literal interpretation of figurative expression." In another part of the paper, on p. 105, *re* Lazarus, he has touched another tap-root, viz., the grammatical interpretation of idiomatic expression.

It is not only in the East, see p. 101, that metaphor is at home. The Red Indians of America dug up the hatchet, or buried it, and smoked the pipe of peace. The loving-cup, the touching of wine-glasses, and the fellowship of the snuff-box, are, or were, well understood amongst ourselves; and it was left to men, who bartered their

natural intelligence for book-learning, to turn a symbol of fellowship into a means of grace.

But is it "mystics" alone, whatever that word may mean, who "more or less consciously live, move, and have their being" "in the realm of figure and metaphor"?

Nor am I inclined to think that metaphor "illustrates and illuminates a truth too profound for literal or precise exhibition in human language." But I think both metaphor and idiom give an attractiveness to the letter of Scripture, as also of every-day speech, and thus make it far pleasanter to read than it otherwise would be, especially by the unregenerate; and far less prolix.

Grammarians, whose proper place is the servants' hall, have been put into the drawing-room.

The case of Lazarus (John xi.) and that of Jairus' daughter are very instructive. In the latter case, our Lord would not admit of the word "death"; in the former, it had to be dragged out of Him, because, as the reader explains, He was about to restore him to life.

I speak with all humility and subject to correction if wrong, but it seems to me that our Lord was not only using the figure of prolepsis or anticipation, but also emphasizing the importance of that figure so common amongst the Hebrews and other ancient nations.

Had our learned theologians understood this figure better, they would not have made death mean a form of life, or a type of it, nor would they have made people dead who had never lived; for death is the ending of life, not its mere absence. In this connection, I consider (see p. 109) that *oi νεκροί* means doomed to die, not spiritually dead. I think also, in the case of the man who wished to bury his father, that he meant "Let me stay (like Abram) with my father till he dies." Had his father been actually dead, he would have been in the house, arranging the funeral. Our Lord's words might well mean, Let those doomed to die bury their dead—or doomed to die. As in the late war, there was much to do and little time to do it in.

There is another important figure in both Old and New Testaments, whose name I do not know, viz., the word describing the effect is attached to the word describing the cause; e.g., "eternal redemption" = redemption with eternal results, "eternal destruction" =

destruction with eternal results, and "to a perpetual end" = no more destruction. (See Ps. ix. 6.)

I could say much more on this subject, but time does not permit.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS differed from Dr. Geden's statement on p. 104 that the Evangelist rarely went beyond the Jews in his vision and thought, instancing the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world, "God so loved the world," and "The Light of the World."

He thought the Lecturer might have said more about the use of water as a figure, pointing out that the authoritative commentary on the blood and water flowing from the side of the dead Saviour in 1 John v. showed that the incident was figurative of the two aspects of the death of Christ, viz., expiatory towards God and of cleansing towards man. The Epistle doubtless referred to the present condition of Resurrection which our Lord had reached through His death. He believed the water in John iii. 5 referred to cleansing and in iv. 14 to satisfying, which are the two main uses we have for water.

Mr. ROUSE said: With most of the utterances of this instructive paper I for one am in hearty sympathy and accord, even where it would supersede our time-honoured translation "born again" by "born from above." And yet I find room for criticism in certain features and phrases of the paper. The closing words hint at a chronological order in John's Gospel, whereas it is the one Gospel by which the length of Christ's ministry is determined, and an opinion expressed on p. 107 would actually sweep aside one of the chief links of that determination. When our Saviour, after His interview with the woman by the well of Sychar, said to His disciples, "Say not ye there are yet four months and then cometh harvest; behold I say unto you, Look upon the fields, for they are white already to the harvest," He was, after His favourite custom, comparing a natural fact with a spiritual one, and in this case drawing a contrast as He had just drawn between material water and spiritual water, and a little later in the record drawn between natural bread and spiritual bread. Then where would have been the contrast, if the natural harvest had not been four months away?

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Mr. W. HOSTE, referring to the Professor's quotation of John iii. 12, "If I have spoken to you of the earthly things *and ye believe not*, how will ye believe if I speak to you of the heavenly things?"

questioned whether "the earthly things" could be interpreted as referring to "earthly birth" or the action of the literal "wind." How could it be said that Nicodemus or others "believed not" such things. Nobody then or now throws doubt on "natural birth" or the action of the "wind." What, then, can "earthly things" refer to? Some have suggested that the contrast lies between "the new birth" and the possession of "eternal life"; but this seems even less satisfactory, for how can "new birth"—more properly rendered, as has been pointed out, "birth from above"—be correctly described as an "earthly thing"? Nicodemus and his fellow-countrymen had seen the "powers of the Kingdom," the miracles which Jesus did, but instead of recognising the King, they saw in Him at best "a Teacher come from God" to whom they would have yielded the professor's chair, while refusing him the kingly throne.

This leads our Lord to emphasize the need of "the birth from above" in order to see that which was even then being announced by Himself and John—a literal kingdom for Israel. This kingdom, in its centre and scope, was an "earthly thing." Israel refused their King, and the setting up of this form of the kingdom was necessarily postponed to a future day. But was there then to be no kingdom in the absence of the King? Yes, this is the mystery of the kingdom.

A spiritual kingdom was to be set up in the hearts of His believing people—"righteousness, peace, joy in the Holy Ghost." These are, I would submit, the "heavenly things" the Lord referred to, which required even more faith to grasp than the earthly kingdom foretold by the prophets.

Mr. Hoste also asked how Professor Geden intended the phrase on p. 109 to be understood: "The New Testament knows nothing of a re-creation of physical existence." Would not such a phrase, as it stands, seem to deny any literal bodily resurrection? though the words a few lines down, "There will be no tenant left of an earthly tomb," show this is not the Professor's thought.

Dr. A. WITHERS GREEN said: If you look up over the west entrance to St. Paul's Cathedral you will see four groups of figures, one on each side of the north and south bell towers. Beginning from the north you have the Apostle Matthew with a man child, then St. Mark with a lion's head and neck at his side. Passing over the

Apostles Peter, Paul and James, you come to the south tower, where there is St. Luke with an ox, and lastly the Apostle John with an eagle.

I suppose these figures correspond to the man, lion, calf and eagle of Rev. iv. 7, 8, and Ezek. i. 10. I cannot resist adding that St. Peter has by his side the cock that crowed twice, perhaps also pointing to the impetuous, always to the front, somewhat boasting, crowing character of the genuine Apostle.

If parents and teachers would show these details to the children, some interest in Divine realities might be assured, but millions, year in and out, pass St. Paul's Cathedral and do not observe its fascinating imagery.

We know that St. John's Gospel has been called the Evangel of the Glory because the early chapters begin with telling us of heavenly things, and the line of the Shekinah runs on, steadily expanding wider at the closing chapters promising us the eternal dwelling places of the Father's house.

I do not read of any mention of the eagle in St. John's Gospel. His loving disposition might have qualified him more for the symbol of a dove, though naturally as Boanerges he was associated with the eagle's home among the thunder clouds.

In the Old Testament we are told of the eagle's way in the air, its mounting up, its high nest, its great wings, its strength and swiftmess. I should like to learn more than the above if possible why the eagle is associated with the writer of the fourth Gospel.

Perhaps it is as writer of the Apocalypse, in which we are told that he saw heavenly visions, which no one else ever knew, like the eagle who sees regions and distances which no other created person or animal can attain unto.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD felt sure that the audience would not wish to part from the author before according him a very hearty vote of thanks for his able and interesting paper. It had exemplified Bacon's saying that illustrations are "windows which let in the light," so enabling us to see more clearly. It had brought light and warmth to the consideration of an important subject.

They would, he thought, quite agree with the author (see p. 103, the latter paragraph) that the metaphors brought forward in the fourth Gospel are borrowed from human thought and experience to

illustrate in part (although inadequately) Divine relations and character; and (p. 106) the "spiritual content always exceeds and overflows the limitations of the earthly figure."

The statement (p. 100) that "only by way of metaphor can Divine truths be conveyed to the human mind or set forth in human speech" may be a clerical error. If not, it stands in need of explanation. The first Bible statement, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," is a Divine statement which does not seem metaphorical.

On p. 106 (line 14 from the bottom) it is affirmed that "the vine cannot and does not live except in the branches." Surely there is some "slip" here?

The fact, pointed out in p. 107, that the thought of the writer of the Book of the Revelation is "saturated" with the metaphors of the fourth Gospel, is of great value and should be a strong argument in support of the view that both books are written by John the Apostle.

Our earnest conviction and entire concurrence are with the author when, speaking of the term "Logos" as applied to the Lord Jesus Christ (p. 102), he makes the beautiful remark, "If you pour into the term all that you can conceive of majesty and power, you have not equalled the Divine greatness of Him of whom the Apostle thinks and desires to write."

I ask you to carry the vote of thanks by acclamation.
(This was done.)

Chancellor J. J. LIAS writes as follows:—

Having been lately engaged in a careful study of St. John's First Epistle, may I be forgiven if I venture to make some remarks on to-day's paper?

Page 99.—I *fully* agree with the author's remarks on the works attributed to the Apostle St. John.

Page 100.—I as fully respond to the comments on the absurdity that any Oriental fancied that One so immeasurably great as our Blessed Lord Himself must be regarded as refusing the use of the "picturesque and figurative speech of His country"; I will not add "of His time," for from the time of Moses to the present day the Oriental uses expressions of hyperbole which are universally attributed to men of his race and region.

Pages 101, 102.—I cannot accept the words *metaphorical* and *figurative* as synonyms. A *metaphor* is something taken out of one sphere and transferred to another. A *figure* is a representation in another shape of something *within the same* sphere.

Page 102.—I must think that "born from above" is the proper translation of *ἀνωθεν*.

Page 107.—I must think that *βρώσις* means the *act of eating*, *βρῶμα* would be *food*.

Page 111.—I cannot accept the statement that St. John is a mystic. Many of my brethren seem to think that anyone who has an inner life is a mystic. I should despair of most Christians were this the fact; but a mystic is one in whom the inner life *takes an abnormal shape*.

I must not be taken as disapproving of the paper because I occasionally criticise it. I think it a very valuable paper indeed.

I should like, in conclusion, to say, and it will, I think, have the support of the writer of the paper, that my study of the First Epistle of the Beloved Apostle has confirmed my belief that the Gospel, the Epistle and the Apocalypse can have but one author. I think but little of the objections raised against this. They are generally very one-sided. Even those of Dionysius of Alexandria, a very weighty, because so early, an authority, seem very external. But the use of such words as "Logos," *μαρτυρία* and its compounds, often translated *record* and *bare record* in our version, *ζωή*; *φῶς*; *παράκλητος*; *overcometh*, St. John strikes the key-note (ch. xvi. 33) with the speech of the Master, "I have overcome the world." It occurs *six* times in the Epistle and *sixteen* times in the Revelation. Another phrase common to the three is *living waters*, or waters of life. Here again the key-note is in St. John, who repeats his Master's words. (See ch. iv. 10; also see ch. iii; vii. 30; xix. 34, 35. Cf. 1 John v. 6, 8; Rev. vii. 17; xxi. 6; xxii. 17.) Many other pieces of evidence may fall to the lot of the careful student. They will be the more valuable in that they are *not upon the surface*.

Mr. J. C. Dick, M.A., writes: On p. 99 of Professor Geden's paper there is a reservation respecting a portion of ch. xxiv of the Gospel. There does not seem to be any reason for the reservation on the ground of either external or internal evidence. As to the former, the fact that the entire Gospel as we now have it, including this portion, is comprised in every manuscript and every version, leaves

no doubt of its genuineness. Internal evidence, though never very conclusive, does not, in the case of this passage, suggest any doubt of its genuineness; the style, in respect both of its qualities and elements, is the same as that of the rest of the Gospel. The purity of the Greek is sustained from beginning to end. But apart from all this a *caveat* ought to be entered against the absurd assumptions of "critics" that an author may not change his style; that diversity of style implies diversity of authorship; and that the critics can partition off the sections and assign them to their imaginary writers. Macaulay wrote history and poetry and delivered speeches, exhibiting great diversity of style, yet no critic has invented three Macaulays. Anyone who treated Ruskin's books as the books of Scripture have been treated could discover by the same methods half a dozen Ruskins. Now the "critics" some years ago had an invitation from Professor Joyce to take up a composition written in collaboration by Besant and Rice, or one by some other joint authors, and assign to each author the portion contributed by him. One would have thought that the "critics" would have welcomed the opportunity of exhibiting their literary acumen and justifying their claims, or of being convicted of arrogant pretension. However, they have as yet confined themselves to the safer course of dissecting the compositions of authors with whom they can no longer be confronted.

Mrs. A. C. BILL writes: I have always felt that the similes and figurative expressions made use of by our Lord were intended to convey lessons of vital import in relation to surrounding circumstances.

The *fields awaiting the reapers* pointed to the necessity for the disbandment of religious organisations which have completed their legitimate period of usefulness, after which the letter and spirit will be found at variance. This was the case with the Jewish Church of that period. The letter of the Levitical code had become a dead letter owing to changed human circumstances. It was the authority of the *organised Church* which caused Jesus to be crucified.

The "*shepherd*" going before *the flock* points clearly to the functions of the true leader in all periods, and teaches that an advanced individual perception of truth added to ripe *experience* (not necessarily old age) are the essential qualifications for the post of authority

in the religious community of Christian denomination. The vital relation of *the one to the many* and the necessity of maintaining the right order of precedence if all are to progress is surely a lesson for the Church in all times.

Mr. C. Fox writes : While in this Vale of Tears we see through a glass darkly—*ex delicta*, owing to our Fall. Even things here we see not as they are and “they are not what they seem.” Moses must “be hid,” even from our eager gaze, and the veil, even over the prosopopœia of his *Mosaic System*, must cover his face, as on Tabor it might shine. Not only is the veil—even like that of all ceremony and type—over it to the incredulous Jew, but, alas ! to hosts of “Christians” hardly less, who would be termed Judaised by Paul. When we see “with open face” we are changed into the Image we see ; not till then.

Thus things as well as personalities Divine have to be shown and given us, and cannot be perceived here *totus, teres atque rotundus*. As in fulness or amount, so too in kind they transcend, and our knowledge is limited by our mind. The spiritual needs spiritual faculties, or cognate, to discern. Hence the prophets were themselves shown and then exhibited symbols, and Hosea said, “I have used similitudes,” and *a fortiori* our Saviour gave us a new natural theology of metaphor, evidently most familiar with and sympathising towards all nature, a prince of poetry and observation, and it is said, even, “Without a parable spake He not unto them.” For, with His unfathomable knowledge, including what was in man, He knew Divine truth could not be presented to or understood by us as it is, and we had to be condescended to in this as in all other respects. The true and more easy apprehension of all of it we here knew of, and would know truly, will doubtless be a chief joy above.

What can be more natural and often more perfect, yet plain, than His parables ? This didactics is almost His *proprium*. It shines in and characterises His short earthly life in our flesh like His amazing shower of dicta and repartee or ever-irrefutable arguments, so that He would be a unique wonder if but a man, and His Divinity is further demonstrated thereby. What a galaxy of similes all relating to one central, divinely simple entity, the seed, is in Matthew xiii.—in His loving, persistent effort to render intelligible the profound mystery with which it was fraught.

With its beauty, the emblematic teaching is inexhaustible as the Divine treasures it is needed to convey to our understanding and the field of nature and of man whence it is drawn. It would have been both interesting and instructive, doubtless, to have shared the privilege of our colleague's exposition, to which (as unable to be present) I feel to add a short comment, as if one had been, on the general theme—and, thus, indirectly on his—for those who are.

John's being excepted from the synoptic Biographies as parabolic, even at all, one concludes is due to the more spiritual Gospel's little needing, or transcending, this mode. But the singular absence of them remarked in the last memoir of our Saviour is not complete, as is said—which, perhaps, the Lecturer may point out—as one may see in the cases of the wind, the living water, and the Vine. Many are hinted and may be here, as the allusion to John the precursor, (? lit.) beautifully, as "the *Lamp* that burneth and shineth," in which the *Light* was exhibited then only through him and giving him all its glory and good—really expressing, in admirable metaphor, the same as the Evangelist so named, utters at the beginning: John came to *witness unto* that *Light*, and the true *Light* now shone—in coming, as the *Word* made *Man*, as *Men's Life* and the *Life* which was *Light* illuminating the world He would save, even in all.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I am grateful for the very generous and kindly manner in which the thoughts that I have ventured to lay before you have been received this evening. There is little, I think, that I need add by way of comment or explanation. When I wrote with regard to the metaphor of the harvest, and the improbability that our Lord was counting the months, I did not mean, of course, to deny that the season may have been summer. It is quite likely that it was. It does not seem to me however that the importance of the imminence of the spiritual harvest has anything to do with measurement of weeks or months.

Mr. Hoste raises a difficult question, but I think he misinterprets Christ's meaning. The "earthly things," which to Nicodemus seem incredible, are all those to which reference has been made, *including* the spiritual birth. With these Nicodemus as a Jew and "the teacher of Israel" should have been familiar, both in theory

and experience. In His further discourse Christ expounds and elucidates the "heavenly things," of which He declares (iii. 12) that He proposes to speak. They are the *supernatural* motives and purposes and acts of the Divine realm.

Mr. Hoste also refers to the phrase used, "re-creation of physical existence." I was thinking when I wrote of the doctrine of re-incarnation or metempsychosis as understood, for example, in India. Some readers have found this doctrine in the New Testament; and I wished to deny it explicitly of St. John.

The word "metaphor" is used throughout with a wide and liberal connotation. No doubt it would be possible so to contract its meaning as to except much that I have written. Surely however (p. 118) the opening statement of Genesis is one of the greatest and most wonderful metaphors ever conceived or penned. "Metaphor" and truth are not opposed but corroborative, and mutually interpret each the other.

The distinction which the Rev. J. J. Lias draws between *βρώσις* and *βρῶμα* (p. 119) may be true theoretically, but it is certainly ignored in usage. It is sufficient to refer to the passages in the Gospels in which *βρώσις* is found. In the Septuagint the words are used to render one and the same Hebrew term, *e.g.*, Gen. i. 29, "To you it shall be for *βρώσις*," not surely the "act of eating"! (Cp. ver. 30, ii. 9, etc.; Ps. lxxvii. 30; Ezek. xlvii. 12.)

With its beauty, the emblematic teaching is inexhaustible as the Divine treasures it is needed to convey to our understanding and the field of nature and of man whence it is drawn. It would have been both interesting and instructive, doubtless, to have shared the privilege of our colleague's exposition, to which (as unable to be present) I feel to add a short comment, as if one had been, on the general theme—and, thus, indirectly on his—for those who are.

John's being excepted from the synoptic Biographies as parabolic, even at all, one concludes is due to the more spiritual Gospel's little needing, or transcending, this mode. But the singular absence of them remarked in the last memoir of our Saviour is not complete, as is said—which, perhaps, the Lecturer may point out—as one may see in the cases of the wind, the living water, and the Vine. Many are hinted and may be here, as the allusion to John the precursor, (? lit.) beautifully, as “the *Lamp* that burneth and shineth,” in which the *Light* was exhibited then only through him and giving him all its glory and good—really expressing, in admirable metaphor, the same as the Evangelist so named, utters at the beginning: John came to *witness unto* that Light, and the true Light now shone—in coming, as the *Word* made *Man*, as Men's Life and the *Life* which was *Light* illuminating the world He would save, even in all.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I am grateful for the very generous and kindly manner in which the thoughts that I have ventured to lay before you have been received this evening. There is little, I think, that I need add by way of comment or explanation. When I wrote with regard to the metaphor of the harvest, and the improbability that our Lord was counting the months, I did not mean, of course, to deny that the season may have been summer. It is quite likely that it was. It does not seem to me however that the importance of the imminence of the spiritual harvest has anything to do with measurement of weeks or months.

Mr. Hoste raises a difficult question, but I think he misinterprets Christ's meaning. The “earthly things,” which to Nicodemus seem incredible, are all those to which reference has been made, *including* the spiritual birth. With these Nicodemus as a Jew and “the teacher of Israel” should have been familiar, both in theory

and experience. In His further discourse Christ expounds and elucidates the "heavenly things," of which He declares (iii. 12) that He proposes to speak. They are the *supernatural* motives and purposes and acts of the Divine realm.

Mr. Hoste also refers to the phrase used, "re-creation of physical existence." I was thinking when I wrote of the doctrine of re-incarnation or metempsychosis as understood, for example, in India. Some readers have found this doctrine in the New Testament; and I wished to deny it explicitly of St. John.

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617TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

THE CHAIR WAS TAKEN BY PROFESSOR BERESFORD PITE, M.A.,
F.R.I.B.A.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed

The HON. SECRETARY announced the following elections: Amand Routh, Esq., M.D., as a Member; and Mrs. Herbert H. Harington, the Rev. H. L. Jennins, L.Th., and Miss A. C. Dick, as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced the Lecturer, Dr. Ernest W. G. Masterman.

The CHAIRMAN, Prof. Beresford Pite, in introducing Dr. Masterman, the Lecturer, said: When I went to Palestine I had the pleasure—a pleasure which you will measure better after Dr. Masterman's lecture than before—of having his company for a very long week's ride from Damascus through the Holy Land, back to Jerusalem.

I expect few travellers in Palestine—I notice many here to-day—have had the opportunity of making the tour with two such well-instructed companions as Dr. Wheeler and Dr. Masterman, and had the pleasure of seeing them welcomed at every spot by all sorts of men. From that period onward Dr. Masterman has been at work in Jerusalem until the period of the War, a long period of more than twenty years, so that I am sure the information he has to place before us this afternoon will be equally well appreciated by you all. I may just remark that Dr. Masterman is one of the medical men attached to the English Hospital in Jerusalem who inherits a long train of deep interest in the antiquities of Palestine and their Biblical importance and connection. He succeeded Dr. Wheeler in Jerusalem (who is now back again), and he, in turn, succeeded Dr. Chaplin, who for more than twenty-five years (1860–1885) occupied the same post.

I think we may claim that the work of medical men in Jerusalem has provided a great source of scientific observation for the benefit of the Christian Church for a period extending over fifty years. I have now much pleasure in asking Dr. Masterman to give you his lecture.

THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

THE site of Jerusalem is shut in by a triangle of higher hills. On the north lies the great backbone of the Judæan range, the city itself lying to the east of the water-parting. The range of hills which culminates in the well-known Mount of Olives, shuts in the city towards the east, and another range—like the last, a southern projection of the central range—encloses the city to the west and south-west. The one distant outlook is a narrow break between these two lateral branches, through which we have a glimpse of the wilderness of Judæa and of the Moab range.

The actual site of the city is demarcated from these higher ranges by two famous valleys. The eastern valley commences at some distance to the north of the city, and after sweeping south-east under the name of the Wady el Joz ("Valley of the Walnuts"), turns south and then south-west under the modern name of Wady Sitti Miriam ("the Valley of the Lady Mary"), called in Bible times the Nahl Kidron. Where this valley passes the eastern walls of the city it is a deep gorge; near its deepest part rises the one true spring of the city, Ain umm ed Deraj, known in the Bible as Gihon. South of the city this valley joins the western valley to form the Wady en Nar ("the Valley of Fire"), which runs a winding course, with sides of increasing precipitousness, to empty its winter torrents into the Dead Sea. In one of the wildest spots upon its course is situated the famous Greek monastery of Mar Saba. The western valley commences to the west of the city, near the pool called the Birket Mamilla, and after running east to near the Jaffa Gate it turns south; on this part of its course it is called the Wady el Mes, and contains the great reservoir the Birket es Sultan. Below this it sweeps gradually south-east under the name of the Wady er Rababi. This is undoubtedly the Gai Hinnom—"the Valley of Hinnom," Josh. xv, 8, etc.—also called the "Valley of the Sons of Hinnom" (2 Kings xxiii, 10). The name Gai Hinnom is the origin of the name Gehenna—the type of hell—a name of evil portent derived partly from the perpetual fires which once burnt here to consume the city's rubbish, and even more because the site was associated with the dark and idolatrous rites of those who offered here their children in sacrifice to the evil Moloch

(2 Kings xxiii, 10). Almost everyone is familiar with these valleys—the Kidron and Hinnom—but many Bible readers know little of the very important valley which bisects the city's site. This is known to-day as el Wad ("the Valley") and is named by Josephus the Tyropœan Valley, a name which he interprets as the "Cheesemonger's Valley," but which more probably means the "Dung" or "Sewage Valley," as down this for long ages has passed the main drainage of the city. Arising just east of the Jaffa Gate and running due east to join this main valley is a branch which is of extreme importance in the topography of the city. It is marked to-day by the steep street known to travellers as "David Street," but in ancient days, when it was much deeper than at present, it formed a northern defensive line for the first wall of the city, which hung along its southern edge. Before leaving these physical features we must briefly refer to yet another valley which, beginning a little east of the site now known to English travellers as "Gordon's Calvary," ran south-east across the north-east corner of the modern city. Across the breadth of this valley lies the Birket Israël, a deep reservoir, now largely choked with rubbish, which used half a century ago to be pointed out as the "Pool of Bethesda." Some have, for want of a better name, called this "St. Anne's Valley," after the church which lies there. It is only by getting the positions of these valleys clearly fixed that anyone can intelligently understand the position of the city's walls.

The actual site of the city consists, then, of a tongue of land sloping to the south-east, bounded east and west by the Kidron and Hinnom Valleys respectively, and divided longitudinally by the Tyropœan into a western higher and broader hill, and an eastern hill described by Josephus, not inaptly, as "half-moon shaped." The western hill is divided by the lateral branch of the Tyropœan, just described, into a massive and lofty southern hill, known since Christian times as Zion, but called by Josephus the Upper Market Place or the Fortress of David, and a northern part which has no definite name, except that Josephus, in describing the second wall, which must have enclosed part of this hill, refers to it as encompassing the "Northern Suburbs." To-day the southern hill is largely the Armenian quarter, and outside the walls contains the traditional "Tomb of David" and several cemeteries; while the northern hill is the "Christian quarter," which clusters round the world-famous "Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

The curved eastern hill is divided into three parts. The southernmost part, which is divided off from the temple hill by a shallow valley—rather inferred than actually demonstrated—is historically the most important spot in all Jerusalem, though to-day it has hardly any buildings upon it. It was called the Ophel Hill (which *was* the ancient name of part of it) by some of the earlier explorers, and I shall refer to it again under that name. Almost all modern Biblical scholars have come to recognize this as the site of the earliest Zion, the fortress-city of the Jebusites, which King David captured and called the City of David. At this time the whole city, which occupied the summit of this hill, was enclosed in one wall—with probably a single gate to the north. This may seem strange and inexplicable to those whose ideas of “cities” is confined to modern or even mediæval times, but the proofs, which are too elaborate to go into now, are, to my mind, quite convincing. The names Ophel, Akra and (in Josephus) “the lower city,” are all associated with parts of this hill. North of this, forming the centre of the half-moon shaped hill, lay the famous summit on which was built the temple, while north of the St. Anne’s Valley was the suburb called by Josephus, Bezetha.

Before tracing out the course of the walls in ancient times it will be well to briefly describe the existing walls, which were built by the greatest of the Turkish Sultans, Suleiman the Magnificent. These walls are some 35 feet high with thirty-five towers and eight gates and a circuit of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. On the west is but one gate, but this, which has existed for many centuries, has always been very important. To-day it is known to travellers as the Jaffa Gate, but to the natives as Bab el Khalîl, the “Hebron Gate” (Khalîl meaning “friend,” being the name of Abraham, the “friend of God,” who is buried at Hebron, which city is consequently named after him). Near this gate are situated some of the most striking remains of mediæval and even Roman Jerusalem, and its position is an important point in historical topography, because Josephus describes the ancient walls from this point. The so-called Tower of David includes in its foundations parts of the substructures of Herod’s famous towers, Hippicus and Pharsael, and possibly also Mariamne. Passing north from here we find near the north-west angle of the city, just inside the north-west corner, some rough ruins known as Goliath’s Castle, which is considered to be part of the foundations of another famous building of King Herod—the tower Psephinus.

Along the northern walls there are three gates. One a little east of the before-mentioned corner is known as "the New Gate," or more correctly as the Bab Abdul Hamîd, so called because it was opened during the reign of that infamous Sultan. In the middle of the long stretch of the northern wall lies the Damascus Gate, so called because from here runs the northern road to that city. We know that the gate and the adjoining wall are upon the foundations of earlier constructions. The gate is known to the natives as Bab el Amûd, "the Gate of the Column," a name which may possibly be explained by the great column which is figured in the famous Byzantine mosaic map of Palestine discovered some years ago at Medaba. From this column the distances to places in other parts of the land were calculated. To mediæval Christians it was known as St. Stephen's Gate (not to be confounded with the gate in the eastern wall, so named in modern guide-books) because it is supposed that St. Stephen was led out here to be stoned.

Further east we have the Bab el Sahirah, the Gate of the Plain, called by travellers Herod's Gate.

On the eastern side there are two gates, one of which has long been walled up. The used gate is known to native Christians as the Bab Sitti Miriam ("the Gate of the Lady Mary," after whom the adjoining valley, the Kidron, is also named), to the Moslems as Bab el Asbat, "the Gate of the Tribes," and in the modern guide-books as St. Stephen's Gate. From this gate every Easter issues the weird and fantastic procession of Nebi Mûsa.

Between this gate and the south-eastern corner of the city is the famous Golden Gate, known in Arabic as the Bab ed Dahrîyeh, "the Gate of the Conqueror," a fine piece of Byzantine work built either by Justinian or Heraclius. It is often a subject of surmise why this gate is kept shut, but the reason is evident: the gate leads directly into the sacred Haram or temple area into which none but Moslems have free access. To leave it open would necessitate perpetual guards to keep out the "infidels." Along the southern wall are two gates. One lying right across the now half-obliterated Tyropœan Valley known as the "Dung Gate," or more correctly Bab el Mughâribeh, the "Gate of the Moors" (because it leads into their dwellings), while on the higher ground further west is the so-called "Zion Gate," or the Bab Nebi Daoud, "the Gate of the Prophet David," so called because it leads out to the mosque enclosing the traditional tomb of

David. Before leaving the southern wall one must mention that that part of it which forms the southern boundary of the Haram shows still the single, the double and the triple gates which once led from the crowded lower city (upon the hill to the south, the *ancient of Zion*) into the temple itself.

The lines of the existing western, northern and eastern walls are all more or less upon those of more ancient city walls, as is shown by buried foundations and by the patched conditions of many parts of the wall, but to the south the direction of the walls has greatly varied through the ages, and the position of the present wall is so peculiar and so unsuited to the requirements of ancient warfare that it requires some explanation. This I shall hope to give at the conclusion of the lecture.

I must now very briefly refer to the results of the very considerable archæological excavations which have been made to ascertain the lie of the ancient walls.

During 1867-1870 Captain (now Lieut.-General Sir Charles) Warren, R.E., made some extraordinarily difficult and important excavations. Near the south-eastern corner of the temple area (the south-east corner of the present city walls) he sunk a shaft to a depth of 80 feet from which he ran tunnels to the foundations of the existing wall. This work is familiar to all the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as it is depicted upon the cover. These galleries—run, I may mention, under great difficulty and no little hazard—excited great interest because upon the great stones thus uncovered were found certain Phœnician marks which were supposed at the time to establish these foundations to be the work of King Solomon. It is now generally accepted that these were simply masons' marks, and this great wall can now, I think, be proved to be the work of Herod the Great, who enlarged the temple enclosure in order to make his temple far more grand and magnificent than the two previous temples. If any remains of Solomon's original work exist they are now buried beneath the present Haram or temple enclosure. At a spot further to the north, where the St. Anne's Valley runs out to the Kidron Valley, Warren found that the foundations were actually 120 feet below the present surface. Near the south-western angle of the temple enclosure Warren made investigations near the spring of the arch known as "Robinson's Arch." He demonstrated the existence of the pier upon which the other side of the arch—which had a span of 50 feet—had rested, and between

this and the wall he found a paved street upon which actually lay the remains of the broken arch itself. Under the unbroken pavement was found the voussoir of a still earlier arch, lying partly in a rock-cut aqueduct 11 feet deep. The earlier arch, we know, had been broken down by the Jews in 63 B.C. in anticipation of an attack by Pompey, and the later arch, which had been reconstructed by Herod, was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70. The archway supported a roadway from the western hill across the Tyropoean Valley—which is here 70 feet below the present surface—into the temple area. As regards the great rock-cut drain, it belonged to a very ancient water system which conducted water into the "lower city" (as it was called in the time of Josephus)—the original "City of David." More important to our present subject was the discovery by Warren of a massive wall $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, which joined on by a straight joint to the present south-east corner of the city, and which he traced, running in a south-easterly direction, along the edge of the so-called Ophel Hill for 700 feet. Along its course were found four small towers with a projection of 6 feet and a great tower of large stones projecting $41\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a face of 80 feet and standing under the present surface to a height of 66 feet. Warren considered that this may be the "tower that standeth out" of Neh. iii, 25. Another discovery he made was the great rock-cut tunnel generally known as Warren's Shaft, which commenced to the west of the "Virgin's Spring" (Gihon) in a rock-cut pit 28 feet deep and descended by steps to a depth of $94\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the level of the rock surface. This sloping passage was 23 feet high and 13 feet broad, and belongs to the same kind of work as the great water tunnel at Gezer. Like it, it was made to reach the city's spring from within the ancient city walls, and it may probably be dated some 2000 years B.C.

The second important link in our understanding the position of the ancient southern wall was the discovery in 1875 by Mr. Henry Maudslay of the massive rock-cut tower, 45 feet square and 20 feet high, now incorporated in the C.M.S. boys' school. This great mass of rock-scarping undoubtedly belonged to the foundations of a tower which stood at the south-western corner of the ancient city, and scarped rock running north from this to the present south-west corner of the city clearly demonstrated the line of the southern part of the western wall of the city. From this tower another scarp ran east, skirting the northern side of the present boys' playground and the Anglo-German cemetery.

When in 1894-1897 Messrs. Bliss and Dickie commenced their important excavations they discovered that this scarp ended in another tower. From this tower they found that the wall, at different periods, ran in two directions, one north-east towards a mass of masonry near the present southern wall of the city, known as Burj el Kebrit, the other more important line of wall ran south-east along the edge of the Valley of Hinnom in the direction of the Pool of Siloam. This latter line showed wall foundations belonging to four or more periods, enclosing a great area of ground now given over almost entirely to cultivation. Upon the earliest of these walls we found towers similar to those found by Warren on "Ophel."

In what is now part of the Anglo-German cemetery was found the remains of a gate some 8 feet wide, which showed evidence of reconstruction at least four times. It is generally accepted that this is the "Gate of the Gai" (or Valley) of Neh. iii, 13. A second great city gate was found some 200 feet south of the Birket el Hamra (the so-called "Lower Pool of Siloam") at what must have been the southernmost part of the city wall. This, too, showed reconstruction at at least three periods. The gate gave access to the great main street running down the Tyropœan, beneath which ran a great drain, which probably traversed the whole of the great central valley. Here we probably have the "Dung Gate" of Neh. iii, 13. A little to the north a great dam was discovered rising some 50 feet from the bottom of the valley where it enters the Kidron. This massive wall now dams the mouth of the valley and produces the Birket el Hamra. The road across the valley mouth now runs along this dam, but it is clear that originally it was constructed to carry the city wall across the valley. There is evidence, however, that at some periods the wall encircled the Pool of Siloam, leaving the pool itself outside the walls, though in close proximity to them on the west, north and east. Bliss was able to trace the wall by various rock scarps and a few scattered stones *in situ* up on to the hill "Ophel" in the direction of, but not quite as far as, the southern termination of Warren's wall.

This is the merest sketch of the important work here done time will not permit of more.

I must now briefly give you the summary of the results and the conclusions we have come to as to the general position of the walls at various periods.

I have already referred to the opinion that the city of the

Jebusites, which King David captured, occupied the then very strong and well-fortified south-east hill we have here called the "Ophel Hill." Let me anticipate criticism by saying that, small as the site seems to us, the really ancient sites we have explored in Palestine are all similar in this respect. Gezer, which was certainly a more important site in pre-Hebrew times, has been fully explored and its ancient walls measured. A wall traced round the circumference of the summit of this south-eastern hill would not be very much less than that which existed at the same age in Gezer. The arguments that this was the site are briefly these. Here, at the foot of this hill, is the great spring Gihon (now the Virgin's Fount), the only considerable spring in the district. It was, without doubt, the existence of this copious source which attracted the first settlers to this neighbourhood, and their primitive cave-dwellings near the spring have been unearthed. In connection with this spring are some extraordinary rock cuttings. The most ancient of these is the so-called "Warren's Shaft," and not only is the very existence of this great work proof that the original inhabitants of the walled town on this hill had to make this great work to supply themselves with water in times of siege, but it is probable that we have a reference to this very work in the account of David's capture of the city. The Jebusites were so secure within their fortifications that they could mock David's little army. The passage is obscure, but we read that they said "Thou shalt not come hither: the blind and the lame shall turn you away." But David knew of this secret passage (2 Sam. v, 8) and it was up this "water course" (Hebrew צִנּוּר *tsinnûr*) that Joab and his men (1 Chron. xi, 6) made their way and, arriving in the heart of the city unexpectedly, made a ready capture of it. To do this they must have waded through the water in the cave at the source and ascended the perpendicular shaft. The feat looks hazardous, but some British officers in 1910, without any assistance from ladders, did the same, and what they could do in European clothes and boots, David's hardy mountaineers would certainly find possible.

As additional support to this view of the site of Zion, one may refer to the frequent references of the carrying *up* of the ark of God from the "City of David" to the temple hill, an expression quite understandable if the ark went from here, but inapplicable if it was carried from the lofty south-west hill. Even more convincing are the references to Hezekiah's aqueduct

(the Siloam aqueduct) which brought the waters of Gihon "down on the *west* side of the city of David" (2 Chron. xxxii, 30) and the statement that Manasseh built "an outer wall to the city of David on the *west side of Gihon* in the Nahal," *i.e.*, the Kidron Valley (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14). One may add that while excavators have found here greater quantities of the most ancient pottery than on the whole Jerusalem site, this has not been found at all on the south-west hill. We picture, then, this strong and compact fortress-city with probably a single gate to the north (2 Sam. xv, 2). During David's reign the neighbouring hillsides became dotted over with unwallled settlements. It fell to the lot of Solomon to build what Josephus describes as the "first" wall to link up the City of David, the temple and palace precincts and, without much doubt, the summit of the left south-west hill. Josephus describes the first wall as running from what is now the Jaffa Gate along the southern edge of the lateral branch of the Tyropcean eastwards to the temple. Then from the same spot (*i.e.*, Jaffa Gate) he traces it to the "tower of the furnaces" (Neh. iii, 11).

From here we know from Bliss's excavations as well as Josephus' description that the wall ran downwards along the edge of the Valley of Hinnom to the Pool of Siloam. It is, however, quite possible that the shorter line running along the edge of the south-west hill to the Burj el Kebrit (see above) was the original course of Solomon's wall. If so, it crossed the Tyropcean somewhere near the position of the present southern wall and then bent down southwards to link into the old wall of the City of David. Solomon must also have carried the wall on the edge of the Kidron Valley to connect up with the temple and palace enclosure. Whether this is so or not, it is certain that the later kings followed the whole southern course as excavated by Bliss. This, too, was the line of wall which is described, in its ruined condition, in the Book of Nehemiah. The relevant passages are, Neh. ii, 13-15, the account of the night ride; iii, 1-32, the description of the rebuilding; and xii, 31-39, the routes of the two processions at the dedication of the walls. Nehemiah went out by the Valley Gate, the gate found by Bliss in the Anglo-German cemetery; he passed from it to the Dung Gate (also found by Bliss, see above) and from here he viewed the walls of the city. He then proceeded to the Fountain Gate, which would seem to have been completely destroyed, but was probably near where the overflow from the Pool of

Siloam now runs out. Near this was the "King's Pool," perhaps represented to-day by the Birket el Hamra. Here Nehemiah apparently proposed to turn into the city, "but there was no place for the beast that was under me to pass" (Neh. ii, 14), so he went up the Nahal (Kidron), viewed the walls from there, and retraced his steps to the Valley Gate. From the other accounts we can follow the circuit of the city. The wall was carried "over against the sepulchres of David," which must have stood in the original City of David above Gihon, past "the pool that was made" (probably at the entrance to the cave in which Gihon rose) and to the "tower that standeth out," i.e., Warren's tower. Near here we have mention of a Water Gate just where we might expect it, as water would be carried this way from Gihon to this temple. Proceeding north, we come to the "Horse Gate," which we know was close to the entry of the King's house (2 Kings xi, 16; 2 Chron. xxiii, 15; Jer. xxxi, 40).

The expression "above" the Horse Gate may imply that the gate itself was a rock-cut tunnel such as occurs, for example, at Kerak. It must have been near the present south-eastern angle of the city. Thence "repaired the priests, every one over against his own house," the houses being to the east of the temple. Then comes the Gate of Hammephkad, somewhere near where the so-called Golden Gate now stands, and finally the Sheep Gate, which the references in Neh. iii, 1, 31; xii, 39, show was at the eastern extremity of the north wall.

The two towers Hananeel and Hammeah (Neh. iii, 1; xii, 39) appear to have been the most northerly points of the city (Zec. xiv, 10) and may well have been where later the fortress Baris and still later the Roman fortress of Antonia (and to-day the Turkish barracks) successively stood.

The Fish Gate (Neh. xxxiii, 12, 39; Zeph. i, 10), where the men of Tyre sold their fish (Neh. xiii, 16), is generally considered to have stood somewhere on the same kind of position across the Tyropoean Valley, though farther south, than the Damascus Gate now occupies. It may well be identical with the "middle gate" of Jer. xxxix, 3.

The next gate to the west, after apparently a considerable interval, is translated the "Old Gate," but more correctly the Gate of the Old . . . —either old *city* or old *wall*. This gate has also been identified as the Corner Gate of 2 Kings xiv, 13; 2 Chron. xxv, 23; Jer. xxxi, 38; Zec. xiv, 10, and with the First Gate of Zec. xiv, 10. There is strong reason for believing that

this gate stood somewhere near the Jaffa Gate. The next gate, which was 600 feet farther on, is the Gate of Ephraim, which, if the former identification is correct, must have stood somewhere in the line of the present western wall, but the site is quite lost. After this comes the Broad Wall, which led on to the Tower of the Furnaces, which we have already suggested is identical with the great rock scarp at the C.M.S. boys' school. This circuit of the walls fairly satisfied all conditions, though if time permitted it might be necessary to discuss some difficulties.

It may be added that the Gate of Benjamin (Jer. xx, 2; xxxvii, 13; and xxxviii, 7) is very probably identical with the Sheep Gate, as the natural exit from the city towards Anathoth. This is strengthened by the reference in Zec. xiv, 10, where the breadth of the city is described as "from Benjamin's Gate unto the Corner Gate." Quite probably, too, at an earlier period this was referred to as the "Upper Gate of the Temple" (2 Kings xv, 35; 2 Chron. xxvii, 3).

We must now turn to the famous description of the walls of Jerusalem given by Josephus. I need not again dwell upon his account of the first wall, but he describes two other walls which protected the weakest part of the city's defences, that towards the north. The second wall was in existence in the time of our Lord, but when it was built is a matter of doubt. Professor Sir George Adam Smith believes it may have been during the time of the later kings; others, and I have adopted that view, during the Maccabæan period.

This wall is described as beginning at the Gate Ganneth. At one time the explorers of the Palestine Exploration Fund thought they had identified the Gate Ganneth with a half-buried gateway on the general line of the old wall to the south-east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Unfortunately excavations showed that this was impossible. So the starting-place of this wall is uncertain and speculative reconstructions have usually been biased by a desire to include or to exclude the traditional Holy Sepulchre from within its circuit. Although we have as yet no archaeological proof, I can see no reason why a wall built, as this probably was, to protect the buildings which had grown up outside the Fish Gate, along the great north road—buildings chiefly in the low-lying Tyropœan Valley—should have made so wide a circuit to the west as to include the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Unfortunately the subject is seldom looked at in a dispassionate way. This second wall completed its circuit at the tower of

the Antonia. The third wall was commenced after the Crucifixion by Herod Agrippa I upon an elaborate plan, but, for fear of Claudius Cæsar, was not so finished, and at the time of the approach of the Roman army under Titus, was hastily completed. It had a breadth of 18 feet, rose to a height of 40 feet and had 90 massive towers. It began at the tower Hippicus (near the present Jaffa Gate), reached round the north quarter of the city to the tower Psephinus—possibly where Kulat el Jalud (Goliath's Castle) is now—and then turned eastwards. The more I have looked into this subject on the ground itself the more I am convinced that the general line of this wall is that of the existing north wall, though there can be no doubt but that near the present Herod's Gate it struck south-east along the edge of the "St. Anne's Valley," excluding the north-east corner of the existing city.

A question which has long puzzled students of the subject is how the present line of the southern wall ever came to be selected. The old wall was along a line of great natural strength, but the mediæval course, now followed, is quite otherwise. Sir Charles Wilson put forward a theory which I am convinced is the true explanation. After Jerusalem had been completely destroyed, the Emperor Hadrian erected a Roman camp on part of the site. It is expressly mentioned that Herod's great towers, near the present Jaffa Gate, were not completely destroyed, and that a Roman camp was established there. Now Sir Charles Wilson has shown that if this camp followed the usual size and construction of such camps it would be four-walled and cover an area of about 50 acres. He found that if Hadrian utilized the remains of the first wall for the northern side and that of the western wall—running south from the towers—as the western side of the camp, then the southern wall must necessarily have run along the course of the present south wall from the south-west corner. This being so, when later the emperor erected the city of *Ælia Capitolina* out of the ruins, he took the south wall of his camp as the southern boundary of the western half of the city and the massive southern wall of the temple area (which, it is quite clear, survived the sieges) as the south wall of the eastern half of the city and joined these two by a wall crossing the Tyropæan along the general line of the present wall. This became the line during almost all the succeeding centuries.

For a time—for at least over a century—the old southern line was restored (with beautifully cut stone, as Bliss's excavations

showed) by the Empress Eudoxia, widow of Theodosius II (A.D. 450), but this apparently did not last long—the city probably was too small to need such a circuit and Hadrian's line was too strong a defence to make the restored line necessary. Again in the fifth and again in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we know from contemporary plans, the top of the southern end of the western hill, with the traditional Cœnaculum and the tomb of David, was enclosed. The remains of these walls were also recovered by Bliss. When Suleiman made this last and complete wall he fell back upon the old Roman lines, which have survived to this day.

I feel I have strained your patience to the utmost, but the subject is a very wide one and contains so many items of interest that, even in a paper of this length, only a bare outline has been possible.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN: There is so much interest and importance connected with the subject of Dr. Masterman's lecture that one scarcely knows where to commence any discussion. As regards the location of the original city of Zion, Dr. Masterman has a perfect knowledge of the progress of modern research in the matter. Of course, Sir George Adam Smith's recent book sums it up very fully and conclusively, and the book of Prof. Sanday of Oxford led us to the same conclusions.

There is one difficulty to my mind about it, and I should be glad if Dr. Masterman could relieve it. It is in regard to the Mount Moriah dominating Mount Zion. I think we make a mistake in concentrating on Palestinian archæology without a sufficient acquaintance or recollection of Old Testament Scripture in regard to other Eastern cities. The temple of Solomon was half outside and half inside the city. Would you have a city with an enclosure lying between it and the rocky background? The enclosure would be on a higher level approached by steps and ramps, and on this platform a series of magnificent column porticoes am considering a city on a hill, and have to accept the shape of the hill, but I get my hill, my platform, my porticoes, and I get my temple platform beyond. The ideas seem to be common to Babylonia and to this arrangement of the site in Jerusalem.

Another point seems interesting and important in the construction of the planning of the city. Alexander brought out of Greece into Asia the fine fruit of Grecian art and Grecian architecture, but was bound hand and foot by tradition which quite unconsciously re-created temples without variation. He comes to the East, sees the plans of Egypt, the plans of Babylon, and Persia, and his Grecian ideals become enlarged with the Egyptian sense of scale and the Eastern sense of dignity, and the consequence is that the ensuing age sees the great cities of Asia rebuilt on grand and new lines, resulting from the combination of Greek taste and refinement with Egyptian skill and symmetry. So you see Ephesus, so you see Antioch, so you see Alexandria, and why should I exclude Jerusalem? Why in that area—the Herodian area—should you exclude the effect of this Grecian thought infused with Eastern imagination upon the great cities of Asia? You see it in the plan of Damascus in a most emphatic way, and I think I see it here. I do not know how far Dr. Masterman will see this too. Here I see Herod's great palace and hippodrome laid out and concentrating upon the Acropolis, so I think it is important that you should examine the plans of those great cities. For instance, I should therefore plan the street opposite the temple across the centre of the market place, the remains of the Hellenist architecture. That is a much later principle in town-planning and you do not find it until later in the Roman period, but I am inclined to look upon this as an indication of the same system of town-planning which marks the great cities of the Græco-Asiatic empire. I must not detain you upon these points, which are rather beside Dr. Masterman's subject. You come to Jerusalem expecting to see Roman architecture and you see it Gothic, but you must remember that the Jerusalem you are looking at is the Christian Jerusalem, occupied by the Saracens and fortified as against the Christian world, and the fortifications belonged to about 1547. King Henry VIII died in 1549, and I think I could put my finger upon what was being done at St. Peter's in Rome in 1547, and that is the period of these walls which Dr. Masterman has been taking us round this afternoon.

I think it is my duty to invite you to discuss the paper, and I must remind you to be very brief.

Mr. M. L. ROUSE said : The story of the capture of the chief Jebusite city by Joab for David recalls the capture of Naples from the Ostrogoths for Justinian by his general, Belisarius : the Byzantine troops then clambered through the tunnel of the great drain of the city and took its defenders by surprise.

I should like to call attention to a striking coincidence and contrast in Bible history. When, as we this evening have heard explained, the Jebusites, in mockery of David, set the blind and lame to protect the city, they challenged him if he could to remove them ; and he replied by offering the highest military honour for valour in these words : " Whoever first getteth up to the watercourse and smiteth the Jebusites and the blind and the lame that are hated of David's soul " (or " that hate David's soul " as another reading has it) " shall be chief and captain " ; and Joab won the honour.

Centuries rolled by, and the Lord Jesus, the eternal King of Jerusalem, entered amid triumphant, though fickle, honours into the city ; and after He had for a second time purged His temple of the avaricious, we read that the blind and the lame came to Him " there, and He healed them."

Mr. Rouse writes the following additional comment, which he had intended to make upon the lecture : If the Canaanites occupied with their city only the south-eastern crescent hill, then we can understand what has always been hard to comprehend, how Abraham could have ascended a hill-top in Mount Moriah and in complete privacy prepared for the solemn faith-testing sacrifice of Isaac ; in privacy he meant it to be, for he had told his servants to wait below while he " and the lad " went " yonder to worship."

Dr. SCHOFIELD : Is there any evidence that in ancient times Ophel was considerably higher than the insignificant proportions attributed to it, and that between it and Mount Moriah there was a deep valley, and that to talk of the citadel of Zion would be more relevant, because there was a large city outside the city of Zion which was taken by Joshua, although no one could find the citadel ? This citadel was no doubt the site of the original city. Jericho is smaller than the whole of Ophel, the first city which was taken, and, therefore, may it not have been built round it ? Would Dr. Masterman allow a distinction between the city of Zion and the hill of Zion ?

A MEMBER: May I ask the relation of the Saviour's tomb to the city walls?

The CHAIRMAN: I think we cannot have such a large question raised at this hour.

Mr. MOON: Could we be told the distance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre outside the walls of Jerusalem? How many feet would the eastern wall of the holy sepulchre be from the second wall to which Dr. Masterman referred?

Dr. MASTERMAN: I know I must be very brief, and I am afraid there are some subjects which it would be no use to try and dismiss in a few words. About the higher hill dominating Zion, I think the chief reasons for the identification of the south-east hill as Zion is that the result of the excavations shows this to be a site in keeping with all the ancient fortified sites we know in Palestine, and it is no objection to such a view that there is a higher hill some distance away. The essential thing is these ancient sites was a tongue of land isolated on three sides by deep valleys and on the other side isolated by the higher ground from which it springs, either by a natural depression or an artificial fosse. I do not agree with Dr. Schofield's remark that there was a city on "Mount Zion" in the time of the Jebusites. With regard to the western site there was no city in the whole country in pre-Hebrew times which covered the area which such an identification suggests. Of course, the name Zion has been applied to many parts. It was an alternative name for Jerusalem in the Psalms, and the name Mount Zion has been applied during the Christian era to the western hill. The original Zion was the hill which David took and which he renamed "the City of David."

As regards the site of our Lord's tomb, there is still much controversy. If you have read Sir Charles Wilson's book *Golgotha*, you will find the subject discussed in a thoroughly scientific spirit. His conclusion is to this effect: He considers, while there is nothing archæological to support the view that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the present site, we have found nothing in the position of the walls to make it impossible that it could have been the site. I cannot go farther than that, because I can only say that is my attitude. I do not believe we shall ever get nearer a conclusion than that

I have been asked about the distance of the second wall from the Holy Sepulchre. I can only say that Sir Charles was a military man and a great student, and he said the walls could be sketched in just far enough to make the site possible.

The CHAIRMAN asked Col. Roberts to move a vote of thanks to Dr. Masterman

Col. ROBERTS : I have much pleasure in doing that, and I hope Dr. Masterman will come again. I think, if I may say so, to-day's paper is more interesting than on the last occasion, at least it is to me, because it is more concentrated, and I think concentration on a particular subject makes it more interesting. I ask you to pass by acclamation a vote of thanks to Dr. Masterman for his very interesting paper.

(Vote of thanks.)

618TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, APRIL 12TH, 1920
AT 4.30 P.M.

DR. T. G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, confirmed and signed.

The HON. SECRETARY announced the Election of the following Members and Associates:—Members: Miss Pelham-Burn, William P. Annear, Esq., F.C.I.S., Alexander Ross, Esq., Colonel W. Sidebottom, J.P., Lieut.-Col. F. A. Molony, O.B.E., and J. Norman Holmes, Esq. Associates: Lieut.-Col. Arthur Ford-Moore, Frederick J. Bramall, Esq., Robert McCormack, Esq., the Rev. Ivo F. H. Carr-Gregg, and the Rev. George B. Macgarr.

The CHAIRMAN then called on the Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D., to read his paper on "The Samaritan Pentateuch." He requested his friend the Rev. DONALD ROSS, Stratford, to read it for him as his voice was weakened with bronchial catarrh, which Mr. Ross accordingly did.

*THE PENTATEUCH OF THE SAMARITANS: WHEN
THEY GOT IT, AND WHENCE.* By the Rev. J. E. H.
THOMSON, M.A., D.D.

WHO are the Samaritans? At the present time in an obscure quarter of the city of Nablus there are collected together in mean dwellings some 150 souls who claim to be Samaritans—the descendants of the Ephraimite Tribes of Israel. As late as the first half of the seventeenth century there were wealthy communities of Samaritans all over Syria and Egypt. These, however, have all disappeared save this one diminishing, poverty-stricken group. Are they then what they claim to be, genuine Israelites? The orthodox Jewish opinion is that this claim is false; it is maintained that they are the descendants of the Mesopotamian colonists sent by the successive Sargonid Princes of Nineveh to supply the place of the deported Israelites. Many Christians agree with them in this opinion. It is maintained that it is supported by 2 Kings xvii. When this chapter is carefully read it will be found that the evidence it gives in support of this conclusion is not so clear nor undubitable as is thought. Although deportation is asserted, there is nothing said about its being total. All that is asserted is that "God rejected all the seed of Israel until He had cast them out of His sight" (1 Kings xvii, 20); this refers rather to spiritual

privileges—of these all Israel, North and South, were to be deprived. It is expressly applied to Judah as well as to Israel, but we know that *all* Judah was not deported by Nebuchadnezzar; “the poor of the land which had nothing” were left. Moreover, the last verses of this chapter in 2 Kings is addressed to those with whom JHWH had made a covenant. “Howbeit they did not hearken, but they did after their former manner. So these nations feared the Lord and served their graven images” (2 Kings xvii, 40, 41).

Besides, there are grave difficulties of various kinds which beset this view. In the first place it would contradict many other passages in Scripture. In the account of Hezekiah's Passover it is told that he sent an invitation to Ephraim and Manasseh, “the remnant of you that are escaped out of the hand of the Kings of Assyria” (2 Chron. xxx, 6). From the Ninevite marbles it is evident that Jewish chronology is too long by nearly forty years. This is occasioned by joint reigns as, for instance, Jotham with his father Uzziah, and Jehoram with Jehoshaphat; it seems not unlikely that during the latter years of the life of Ahaz, Hezekiah was his colleague, and that he emphasized the first year of his independent reign by the celebration of a Passover. The first year of Hezekiah as reigning alone may well have been 720 B.C. Whatever difficulty there may be about the chronology of Hezekiah's Passover there can be no doubt that the Passover of the reign of Josiah was after the fall of Samaria, and the deportation, whatever its extent, had taken place. In the account of it which is to be found in 2 Chron. xxxv, 17, it is said, “The children of Israel that were present kept the Passover”; to show that the writer had in his mind the distinction between Judah and Israel in v. 18 we read, “all Judah and Israel that were present.”*

Further, in Jer. xli, 5, there is mention of men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, who were bringing offerings and incense to the House of the Lord; this was after the fall of Jerusalem. There are other passages in Jeremiah that seem to have little meaning unless there were still a remnant of the Ephraimite Tribes, whom the prophet thus represents as

* I do not think that evidence from Chronicles is to be dismissed on the plea that the book is non-historical. At all events it is clear that at the time when the chronicler wrote it was believed that a very considerable number of the Ephraimites had escaped from the hands of the Assyrians.

repentant (xxx, 18): "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself, 'Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised. . . . (19) Surely after I was turned I repented,'" and the Divine answer, "Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he a pleasant child?" Such language implies that the Ephraimite Tribes were still to a great extent occupying their own land, and had recently suffered severe chastisement, such as would have been implied in the deportation of the cream of the inhabitants; and that they were now repentant.

Further, there is the evidence of Josephus. Notwithstanding that he had said (Ant. IX, xiv, 1) that Shalmaneser "transplanted all the people into Media and Persia. . . . And when he had removed these people out of their land, he transplanted other nations from a place called Cuthah," he says (X, iv, 5): "Josiah went also to all the Israelites who had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices. . . . When he had thus purified all the country, he called the people to Jerusalem, and there celebrated the Passover." His evidence is all the more valuable that all through his history Josephus manifests an animus against the Samaritans, always calling them Cuthæans.

The evidence from the monuments supports our contention. Sargon, who conquered Samaria, says that he deported "27,290 persons *from the inhabitants*," implying that he left some. He further says that he appointed a deputy and required from the inhabitants the same tribute as formerly—a deputy would not be appointed over empty fields, or tribute exacted from a waste. Even after the slaughter incident to their successive invasions the Assyrians had left a remnant. Reference might further be made to the physical difficulties connected with the removal overland of a population of not less than half a million a distance of approximately six hundred miles; and then deporting colonists over a similar space to supply their place. It would be enough for the purposes of the Assyrian Government that all the men of wealth or influence, all the prophets, all the priests, all the scribes, should be removed.

It is to be noted that when Zerubbabel refuses the help of the Samaritans in building the Temple, he does not do so because they are not Israelites, but on the ground alone that only to the Jews was the permission granted to rebuild the Jerusalem shrine.

For these reasons we assume the claim of the Samaritans to be genuine Israelites to be valid.

The Samaritan Pentateuch. The main interest in this disappearing fragment of a nation is the fact that they possess a recension of the Pentateuch peculiar to themselves. While in all essential points it agrees with the ordinary Massoretic recension it differs from it in numerous comparatively unimportant respects. Whence did they get it? and when? Did they get it from Jerusalem after Ezra had brought back the last important body of repatriated captives? This is the Critical contention; this explains how the Samaritans had the "Priestly Code" which they maintain was brought from Babylon by Ezra.

In regard to the time when the Samaritans got the "Torah" (to give the book in question its Jewish name), one account is drawn from Josephus. He (Ant. XI, viii, 2) says that Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua the High Priest, excited the anger of the religious of Jerusalem by marrying the daughter of Sanballat, the Governor of Samaria, and was compelled to betake himself thither. He adds that many of the priests and Levites were entangled in such marriages. For his son-in-law Sanballat got permission to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim in which Manasseh officiated as High Priest. It is not said that Manasseh conveyed with him to Samaria a copy of the Law as completed by Ezra. Of course, were there no other reason to doubt the story, Manasseh *might* have brought a copy of the Pentateuch. But is the story true? It appears to be a repetition of what happened in the time of Nehemiah's Governorship when he chased the grandson of Eliashib the High Priest, who also had married the daughter of Sanballat. The Assouan papyri refer to the sons of Sanballat as exercising authority in Samaria. This applies to the time of Darius Nothus, the son of the Artaxerxes who had sent Nehemiah to Jerusalem. It could not be the same Sanballat that had been governor under Artaxerxes, who was governor now in the reign of Darius Codomannus. It is unlikely that the Assyrian name would be repeated in the family when the Assyrian Empire had disappeared. Moreover, it is hardly credible that, after the drastic treatment meted out to Samaritan marriages by Ezra and Nehemiah, within a century a great number of the Levites would have repeated the offence. Josephus' account of events of this period is confused to the last degree. We need not dwell further on it; suffice it to say that the narrative of Josephus is here utterly unhistorical.

Most critics agree that it was in the reign of Artaxerxes that

Manasseh, to give him the name which Josephus gives him, fled to his father-in-law. It is not said in Nehemiah that he did; he certainly might have done so—that, however, is not to say that he probably did so. As according to the Critical hypothesis Ezra had brought the completed Law, and had now been several years in Jerusalem, no chronological difficulty stands in the way of the assumption that Manasseh took the completed Torah with him to Samaria. There are, however, what seem to be overwhelming psychological obstacles to acceptance of this.

Even for the sake of argument it is extremely difficult to admit that the Jerusalem priests would accept the new teaching of Ezra. They had for nearly a century been offering gifts and sacrifices according to some ritual; Ezra, who comes to teach them what he maintains is the true ritual, had not only never taken part in a legitimate sacrifice, he never had even seen one. Was it likely that they would submit to all the new regulations without remonstrance? The only thing that they fought against was Ezra's strained interpretation of the marriage law. Inconceivable as it appears to us, still let it be admitted. Would Manasseh convey to his father-in-law this new ritual? When Sanballat got permission from Darius Nothus to build a Temple and made him High Priest, would he (Manasseh) introduce into it the arrangement of rites and ceremonies which had been introduced by the man through whose influence and authority he had been banished from Jerusalem and deprived of his priesthood? What would be thought of the verisimilitude of a tale which represented a man who had been an Episcopalian curate in Scotland but had been, at the Revolution Settlement, hustled out of his church and home by a mob of Presbyterian zealots, coming to London and opening a Presbyterian conventicle there? It would be regarded as a travesty of human nature. The Critical hypothetical history of Manasseh is as preposterous:—unless human nature differed then from what it is now.

But a difficulty in accepting the Critical hypothesis emerges from another quarter. Would the Samaritans accept the amended Pentateuch at the hands of Manasseh? The Samaritans since the days of Esar-haddon had been worshipping JHWH; and their claim to have done so is not denied by Zerubbabel. Worship in those days meant sacrificial offerings and this meant a certain fixed ritual. If that brought by Manasseh differed from that to which they had been accustomed for a couple of centuries, would they have readily given up their own for this

new ritual offered them by one who had himself fled from it? The books of Ezra and Nehemiah reveal how strong the animus was which divided the Israelites of the North from those of the South. Did a study of the history of the Samaritans exhibit them as ready to accept the religious views of their neighbours, there might be some plausibility in the Critical opinion. On the contrary, the whole history of the Samaritans demonstrates the opposite. They were forbidden to exercise the rites of their religion by the heathen Emperors of Rome; yet they persisted in doing so. They endured savage persecutions at the hands of the Christian Emperors of Byzantium; still they maintained their faith. Though the Moslems have so much in common with the Jews, and on the whole favoured them, they persecuted the Samaritans. Despite all this, they have continued the rites and ceremonies of their faith. Is it at all likely they would take anything quite new from the hands of a runaway priest like Manasseh? If, on the other hand, their mode of worship was the same as that in Jerusalem, then we can understand the reception of a legitimate Aaronic priest. Only if so, the Samaritans must have had the Priestly Code, and indeed the whole Pentateuch before Manasseh came to Samaria.

It may be assumed that the Samaritans did not get their religion or the book which taught its observances from Jerusalem, or through Manasseh, the Jewish priest. Is there any other region whence, or time when, it could come to them? When the Samaritans, as related in Ezra iv, 2, claim to be allowed to assist in rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem, they assert that "since the days of Esar-haddon king of Assur" they had done sacrifice to the JHWH God of Israel. Though their claim to help is rejected, it is not because their assertion is false, but because it was only to the Jews that Cyrus had given permission to rebuild the Temple. When we turn to 2 Kings xvii we find the justification of this claim. The colonists who had been sent to replace the deported Israelites complained to the King of Assyria that JHWH the God of the land had sent lions among them "Because they know not the manner of the God of the land"; that is to say, the mode in which He may be worshipped acceptably. In answer, Esar-haddon sends them a priest or priests to instruct them in the proper sacrifices and ritual, to render JHWH propitious to them. Although it is not said that the King of Assyria sent the Torah with these priests it seems for several reasons highly probable. The Sargonid Princes of Nineveh

were great collectors of religious and ritual formulæ. The great mass of the clay tablets which make up the huge library of Asshur-bani-pal are transcriptions of sacred texts; directions when to offer sacrifice and how to do so; or sacred poems containing cosmology and mythology; very much what the contents of the Pentateuch must have seemed to the Ninevite monarchs. They would not have regarded the priests as properly equipped if they did not carry with them directions in writing in regard to all matters of ritual and worship. Nor would the colonists on their part have been ready to trust the ministrations or instructions of this unlettered priesthood.*

Should it be objected that, according to what we have already stated, there were a very considerable number of the Israelite inhabitants still remaining in Northern Palestine—could they not have instructed the colonists? But they were only the poor of the land, illiterate peasants, shepherds, ploughmen, vine-dressers. Those who could read and write would have been carried away by Sargon. The colonists would not be satisfied that the remembrances of these poor people were adequate to assure them that they were worshipping the God of the land with correct ritual. To the heathen, correctness of ritual was of the highest importance. Hence of the whole Pentateuch, the Priestly Code, that which is declared to be the latest in date of all its component parts would be that alone which would be of value to these colonists.

If these priests brought the Torah, whence did they get it? They must have taken it with them into captivity. The Samaritan history distinctly says that the High Priest conveyed the great Roll of the Law to the *Merj Ninwe*, the "Meadow of Nineveh." Certainly, if there was a Torah it would be carried with them into their exile. It must be assumed that they had had it before. If so, there will be, not improbably, signs in the literature of the

* We wonder that no ambitious *privatdocent* has propounded the theory that it was from these priests and at that time that the Jews got their Torah; and that consequently the Samaritan Pentateuch was really the earlier. In proof of this the alleged fact might be adduced that the stories of Creation, the Fall of Man, the Flood, etc., were brought from Babylonia, whence the Sargonid sacred formulæ were derived. What more likely, then, than that this was the time when these stories were imported into Palestine. Of course, this would imply a total reconstruction of Hebrew history and a re-writing of the prophecies. But Wellhausen has accustomed us to all that!

Northern tribes that the contents of the Five Books were known. The two prophets, Amos and Hosea, are the uncontested remains of Northern prophetic writing. Though Amos was a native of Judah his sphere of activity was the North, and his message would necessarily be conditioned by the amount of knowledge possessed by his audience. He assumes those whom he addresses to know something of the Pentateuchal history; he refers again and again to the fact that as a nation they had been brought out of Egypt and were for forty years in the wilderness (ii, 10; iii, 1; v, 25); he knows of the destruction of the cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah (iv, 11). It is to be noted that in this last case the same word is used in the prophecy in speaking of the overthrow as is used in Genesis. He knows also that Isaac as well as Jacob is the ancestor of the nation. What is most marked in regard to Amos is the numerous references he makes to the sacrificial ceremonial, using technical terms in doing so (Amos iv, 4; v, 21, 22); criticizing even somewhat minute deviations from what was legally enjoined (iv, 5). The order of Nazirites (ii, 11, 12) is noticed, and one of its leading features is referred to; yet the whole section in the book of Numbers relating to the Nazirites is attributed to the Priestly Code. Not less remarkable is the testimony borne by Hosea to the contents of the Pentateuch. His references to patriarchal history are specially to be noted. He is particularly interested in the personal history of Jacob (Hos. xii, 3, 4: "He took his brother by the heel in the womb . . . he had power over the angel and prevailed." In this case what is most to be observed is that the words used are an obvious echo of those which occur in the Genesis narrative, and these words, it may be remarked, are very rare (compare Gen. xxv, 26; xxxii, 28). Yet more interesting from the full knowledge manifested is Hos. xii, 12, "Jacob fled into the country of Syria, and Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep" (compare Gen. xxvii, 43; xxviii, 5; xxix, 18, 27). Like Amos, Hosea knows of the overthrow of the cities of the plain, but in his reference he does not name the two more prominent cities, but Admah and Zeboim (Hos. xi, 8). He refers to the fact that Israel was brought out of Egypt (Hos. xi, 1; xiii, 4). Later events in the early history of Israel are noticed; thus the sin of Baal-Peor is referred to (Hos. ix, 10) (compare Num. xxv, 3, 5; Deut. iv, 3). Hosea, moreover, has repeated references to the Torah, as Hos. iv, 6, "Thou hast forgotten the Law of thy God,"

viii, 1, "They transgressed My covenant and trespassed against My law"; further, the Law is a thing already committed to writing—viii, 12, "I have *written* unto him the great things of My Law." There is an endeavour to invalidate these references by asserting that these things *might* be traditions. Of course, possibility is a very wide thing; we have to do not with possibilities but with probabilities. When Hosea, as we have just seen, speaks of God having written to Israel "great things in His Law," it is beside the question to refer to the possibility of unwritten tradition. This is confirmed by the way in which the words of the Pentateuchal narrative are echoed in the prophetic reference. If it were a question of secular literature, such evidence would be regarded as conclusive proof that the prophets had *read* the Law, and expected that their hearers had read it also. It is even stronger when consideration is directed to the sacrifices and feasts named by Amos with technical exactitude. Amos was not a priest, does not claim to be a regular prophet, brought up in the prophetic schools. Yet plain man as he is, he not only himself knows the technical terms for the sacrifices but expects that those whom he is addressing are acquainted with them also, and with all the regulations in regard to them.

We can thus claim to have shown that it is so highly probable as to be almost a certainty, and that is the utmost that can be attained in regard to the remote past: that the whole Torah, not only all the books, but all the strata into which Critics have split it up, was in the possession of the Ephraimites in the reign of Jeroboam II. The case of Amos, not only as an individual, but as a prophet whose exhortations implied a certain amount of intelligence and information in his audience, requires us to believe that the acquaintance with the Law was widespread, embracing all strata of society. But this implies a very considerable space of time. Even the century during which the dynasty of Jehu ruled, is insufficient to account for it. Ahab or his father Omri would be unlikely to introduce a legal system which condemned alike their practices at home and their foreign alliances; scarcely more likely to do so were the short-lived dynasties which had preceded. We are thus led to conclude that the Pentateuch was a possession which Israel had in common before the division of the Kingdom. If, as Dr. Burney (*Kings*, p. 105) admits, the ceremonies of the Dedication of the Temple agree with the enactments of the Priestly Code (he explains this in the usual high-handed Critical fashion by alleging

interpolation from post-Exilic hands), this implies that the knowledge of the Law has to be carried back to a yet earlier period.

It may, however, be objected that if Esar-haddon's priests brought the Law, why did they not bring more of the books admitted by the Jews to the Canon, especially Joshua? When the situation is considered, the answer is simple. What the colonists wished was the ritual by which they might propitiate the tutelary God of the land which they had been sent to inhabit; Joshua did not contain any directions as to the sacrificial victims, or the mode in which they were to be offered; it was, therefore, not needed. There would, however, be another reason. If we are correct in our idea that a large number of Israelites were left in the land, the story of the conquest of Canaan was a narrative liable to excite this Israelite remnant to rebel against "the Great King, the King of Assyria." There would be yet stronger reasons of this sort to exclude Judges and Samuel. Moreover, the Law was under the custody of the priests, whereas the other books were prophetic. Not only was there no sympathy between the priests and the prophets in the Northern Kingdom, but the prophets, as a class, would be suspect by the Assyrian police. This exclusion of Joshua, it may be remarked, decisively negatives the theory that Joshua is an integral part of the Law; in other words, it shows that we have to do, not with a Hexateuch but with a Pentateuch.

It seems clear that the Samaritans received again from the priests of Esar-haddon the Law which they had lost in consequence of the Assyrian conquest and the deportation of all more lettered people. But what they received was what they previously had had. They thus did not get it from Jerusalem, nor from the Jews.

There is another line of proof which may be followed when it is endeavoured to assign a date to the Samaritan recension. Any one who has seen a Samaritan manuscript, not to say examined it, observes at once that the characters in which it is written are widely different from the square characters in which our ordinary Hebrew Bibles are printed. The Jews themselves admit that the Samaritan script is older than the *Ashurith* which they use for the sacred Torah. The Talmudic account is fairly familiar to all Semitic scholars (*San*, pp. 21b, 22a). "The Law was first given to Israel in the *Ibri* character and the Holy tongue; again, it was given in *Ashurith* writing and Syrian tongue. The

Israelites chose the *Ashurith* writing and the Holy tongue, and left to the *Hediotæ* the *Ibri* writing and the Syrian tongue. Who are *Hediotæ*? Rabbi Chasda says 'The Cuthæans (the Samaritans).'

This script has a close resemblance to that to be found on the Maccabæan coins. This does not imply any very great antiquity. It stands, however, at the end of a long process of evolution. Every manuscript of the Torah with which we, in these days, come in contact, is the resultant of many successive copyings from manuscripts in all the different stages of the script's evolution. Each one of these steps in descent is liable to leave traces discernible in the latest exemplar. These traces are recognized by comparing manuscripts of differing descents. When letters are like, a copyist may confuse one letter with another. But some letters are like in one script while in another the corresponding characters differ very clearly. A person reading a book printed in German black-letter might be liable on cursory perusal to confuse capital *C* with capital *E*, whereas were the words printed in Roman characters confusion would be impossible. When the Samaritan recension of the Torah is compared with the Massoretic there are numerous cases of difference due to this cause. The most frequent of these are occasioned by the likeness of *Daleth* and *Resh*. These letters are not confusingly alike in the Samaritan or Maccabæan. They are certainly very like each other in ordinary square-character Hebrew; but the confusion could not have resulted from this, as from what we have seen above the square character was later than the Samaritan. In the angular script which preceded the Samaritan, and is found on the sarcophagi of Ashmunazar and of his father Tabnith, the resemblance between these two letters is confusingly great. Examples of this confusion are numerous, as has been said; a few of these may be given. In Gen. x, 4, the last named of the sons of Javan (Greece) is in the Massoretic *Dodanim*, but in the Samaritan the name appears as *Rodanim*; with this the Septuagint agrees, reading *Rhodioi*; in the Vulgate Jerome supports the Massoretic reading, as also does the Peshitta. This is evidence that the Egyptian MSS. from which the LXX made their translation agreed with the Samaritan recension. It may be noted in 1 Chron. i, 7, in the *K'thivh*—the text which is to be written—*Rodanim* is found; it has been corrected by the Massorettes into an agreement with Genesis; our Authorized Version follows this; the Revised agrees with the Samaritan. One other example may be taken. When Joseph was negotiating

on behalf of Pharaoh with the famine-stricken people of Egypt, after he had bought their cattle and their land (xlvi, 21), it is said, "As for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof." The Samaritan is: "As for the people, he enslaved them from one end of Egypt to the other." In this case also the Septuagint is in agreement with the Samaritan, as is also Jerome; the Peshitta agrees with the Massoretic. This confusion cannot easily be imagined if the copyists had before them a manuscript in the Maccabæao-Samaritan script. To explain the phenomena here presented, we are led to the position that at some point in the descent of the MSS. of both recensions there was a period in which manuscripts were copied in a script like that found on the Zidonian sarcophagi, about 400 B.C. At this point the leading Jewish scribes read *R* while the Samaritan scribes and those who copied the Hebrew rolls in Egypt preferred *D* in regard to certain words. As there is a consensus of the MSS. on both sides, the one set always retaining the one reading and the other the other, it is evident that from this point there has been no dependence of the Samaritan on the Massoretic recension.

The next most frequent case in which there occurs a confusion of letters is *mem* and *nun*. The most striking example of this is the name of Jacob's youngest son. In the Samaritan he is always called "Benjamim," not as in the Massoretic "Benjamin." In this case the Samaritan stands alone, not having the support of the Septuagint. Both names are significant, while the Massoretic means the "Son of the right hand" the Samaritan has the yet more suitable significance of "Son of Days," a reference to the old age of Jacob at the time of his birth. The fact that Benjamin is a child of his father's old age, is referred to by Judah in pleading with Joseph not to retain him in Egypt. There are other instances of this confusion, as Pithon for Pithom. It also appears frequently in the Septuagint, indeed more frequently than in the Samaritan. This confusion is practically impossible in the Samaritan script; in the script on the sarcophagi of the Zidonian kings the difference between these letters is even more marked. When, however, the earlier form of the angular script, found on the Siloam inscription and the stela of Mesha, King of Moab, is looked at, the confusion is quite intelligible. Mesha was a later contemporary of Ahab. This would lead to the conclusion that the independence of the Samaritan recension must be dated at least as far back as the

days of Ahab, about 850 B.C. There are some confusions which seem to be explicable on the idea that the script in use was the earlier form of the angular which is found on a fragment of a bronze dish, which probably is a century older. If this is so, we are back at the time of the division of the kingdom. This implies that the two streams of copying and copyists continued parallel but separate from the days of Solomon.

On a similar line a peculiarity of the Samaritan script has to be pointed out. The student of Samaritan recognizes at once a clear difference in the mode in which the Samaritan codices are written from that in which ordinary Hebrew manuscripts are. In the Samaritan each word is separated from that which follows by a dot. This peculiarity is seen in the Siloam inscription, and in that on the stela of Mesha. In the inscriptions on the sarcophagi of Ashmunazar and of his father Tabnith the place of the dot is taken by a small character like the letter *zain*. No device of this kind is found in the Assouan papyri, nor on the Maccabæan coins. Nor is it found in the inscriptions on Jewish tombs of the second century. On the other hand, in all the Samaritan inscriptions, from the earliest, the words are separated, not as in MSS. by a single dot like a period, but by two dots arranged like a colon.

To estimate the meaning of what has just been said the circumstances must be considered. Let it be supposed that, unlikely as it is, the Samaritans have been so impressed by Manasseh, and by the superiority of the ritual which he has introduced, that they adopted the completed Torah which he has brought from Jerusalem: would not this tend to make everything about the newly-received sacred writing in a sort sacred too? One would expect that every trick of writing, every peculiarity of spelling, in fact, as the Massoretes, with the copy of the Torah which for some reason they took as their model, even the very blunders of the sacred text, would be carefully reproduced, and mystical reasons found for them. But this is not the case. In fact, it is with Deutsch represented as if it were a reproach to it that the Samaritan Torah has no suspended letters, no *majuscules* or *minuscules*. As we have said above, the two streams of manuscript descent have kept quite distinct.

Having considered the differences which distinguish the writing of the Samaritans from that of the Jews, and made deductions from them as to the date of the separation of the two recensions, a difference of another kind claims attention. The Samaritans

not only write Hebrew differently from the Jews, they also read it differently. Although Hebrew is rich in gutturals, as are all Semitic tongues, the Samaritans when they read the Torah or the Aramaic Targum omit them; or what is the same thing, pronounce them all as if *aleph*. When eight hundred years ago Benjamin of Tudela visited Nablus, he remarked on this peculiarity of the Samaritans. It may be that even in the Gospels evidence for this may be found. The Woman of Samaria may have recognized our Lord to be Jew because the first word He would use in requesting a drink begins with a guttural: if He made the request in Aramaic, which He probably would, "*Habilay mayo eshthe*." Striking evidence of this is afforded by the Samaritan hymns, many of which are alphabetic, some supposed to date even to pre-Christian times; very few of these do not blunder in the position of the gutturals, many begin with *ain* instead of *aleph*. There is evidence enough that all along the Jews pronounced the gutturals. Indeed, they seem to have had a greater number anciently than in more recent times.

The tendency which leads a person, reading aloud from a dead language, to assimilate the sound of the vowels and consonants to those of the living language which he ordinarily uses, is well known. The effect of this tendency is seen in the different ways in which the Classical languages are pronounced in England and in Germany. But in the case before us the tendency has been resisted. For more than a millennium the Samaritans have been surrounded by those who speak Arabic. It is now and has for centuries been their language for all ordinary purposes; very few of them know Hebrew at all. Yet Arabic is richly endowed with gutturals—more so than either Hebrew or Aramaic.

When did the Samaritans adopt this mode of reading Hebrew? It could not have been under the "Rule of the Children of Ishmael," to give the Mohammedan supremacy its Samaritan designation. As we have seen, Arabic would naturally have tended to increase the prominence of these sounds. For nearly thirteen centuries the Samaritans have lived under Mohammedan rule. For more than nine centuries they were under Greek rule. So far as language was concerned, the Roman Empire was a continuation of that of the Seleucids. The Greeks had certainly three of the four gutturals *chi* and the soft and rough breathings. Moreover, they seem to have pronounced *gamma* as the Arabs do *ghain*. We have seen reason to believe that during the Græco-Roman rule the Samaritans did not use the gutturals.

In the Assyrio-Persian period which preceded, Aramaic was the language of government, and it has all the gutturals. The Assyrian is sometimes represented as not using the gutturals, but this is not the case, as the name Sennacherib shows, which, as transliterated into Greek and Hebrew, shows the guttural. The Samaritans must have got this fashion earlier than the rule of Assyria or Babylon, and from some other quarter.

To the north-west of Palestine dwelt the Phœnicians, a people whose influence on world-culture is not to be measured by the scanty strip of territory they inhabited. They spoke Hebrew in a dialect which, judging by the inscriptions which have come down to us, was more nearly identical with that of Israel than is that represented on the Moabite stone. They appear to have had this Samaritan peculiarity. The evidence for this may be found in the Greek alphabet. Classic tradition ascribes the introduction of the alphabet to the Phœnician, Cadmus. The names of the letters and their order suit the tradition. In the Cadmæan alphabet there are no gutturals; yet the Greek language had gutturals, and the Greeks were necessitated to add the Palamedean letters and the breathings. The signs in the Cadmæan alphabet which had no sounds, the Greeks utilized to indicate vowels. The origin of this way of pronouncing Hebrew thus appears to have been an imitation of a fashion of the Phœnicians. The influence of Tyre on Israel was predominant under the rule of the dynasty of Omri, and especially during the reign of Ahab. If, then, the Ephraimites had at that time the sacred Law, they would read it much as the modern Samaritans do. It must be remembered that, notwithstanding the prevalence of Baal-worship, JHWH was regarded as the national God. All the sons of Ahab whose names we know have Jehovistic elements. The prophets who prophesied before Ahab at the gate of Samaria did so in the name of JHWH. There is, therefore, nothing incongruous in the Law being read in the days of Ahab.

There swept over Palestine the terrible flood of the armies of Assyria; Samaria was captured, and all the leading and educated classes were carried away into exile. Colonists were sent to occupy the land, and keep in check the remnant of the Israelites. The language of these colonists would certainly be Aramaic. The result of their residence among the Israelites was the rise of a dialect of Aramaic which contained a large Hebrew element. As there was, according to the Critical hypothesis, no sacred

book to keep it alive, Hebrew would disappear. The priests of Esar-haddon had come certainly, and "taught them the manner of the God of the land," but according to the ruling theory they brought no sacred books with them, consequently there would be no reading to fix a special mode of pronunciation. To this community, which by hypothesis knew no Hebrew, came Manasseh with the completed Law—the Law of JHWH, the God of the land. Manasseh would necessarily read the Law in the Jewish way. Would not his audience, when they accepted the ritual, accept also the way of reading the book which laid down the regulations of this ritual? The Samaritans have done nothing of the kind; they have retained the mode of reading Hebrew which they had inherited from their Israelite ancestors. People so obstinate about the pronunciation would not without strenuous resistance accept the whole Levitical ritual thus being forced upon them.

Such, then, is our case. We maintain that it is in direct contradiction to human nature as we know it that Manasseh, as the Critical hypothesis demands, banished by the Law introduced by Ezra, should preach that Law in the place of his exile. It contradicts all that is known of the Samaritans that they would, at the bidding of a Jewish priest, change their ritual of worship. We have shown from the evidence deduced from the confusions of letters, from which have arisen the differences of the two recensions, that there have been two streams of manuscripts quite independent, their date of separation seeming to be about the time of the schism of the kingdom. Further, we have seen that the mode in which the Samaritans read the Law shows also a marked difference from the Jewish; we have found that this points back to the same period.

On the other hand, not a tittle of evidence is adduced for the allegation that Manasseh, or whoever was the son-in-law of Sanballat, conveyed the Law to Samaria. The only evidence that he conveyed even himself thither is the unconfirmed assertion of Josephus, in a narrative otherwise confused and unhistorical. The Assouan papyri confirm the Biblical date of Sanballat; there is mention of his sons. In the appeal which the Israelites of Assouan say they had made to Samaria there seems to have been no reference to a High Priest: as they had appealed to the Jewish High Priest as well as to Ostanes, the civil governor, it might have been anticipated that, as the matter of their appeal regarded the desecration of a temple, the Samaritan High Priest,

the son-in-law of Sanballat, would have been named. Of course when Nehemiah drove him from his presence, Manasseh *might* have gone to Samaria, and *might* have taken the Law with him, and *might* have persuaded the Samaritans to adopt it; but possibility is not actuality. On the basis of this mere possibility or series of possibilities—highly improbable most of them are, as we have already seen—is erected the whole history of the reception by the Samaritans of the Priestly Code with the rest of the Jewish Torah! It is as much a work of imagination as Dumas' *Three Musketeers*. If this piece of imaginary history is not true, then the whole chronology of the Wellhausen hypothesis is destroyed, and Ezra had no more to do with the compilation of Leviticus than Wellhausen himself. That this is really the case, I think we have proved.

DISCUSSION.

MR. THEODORE ROBERTS instanced the Samaritan woman, in John iv, 12, claiming Jacob as "our" father (not dissented from by our Lord) as supporting the Lecturer's conclusion that the Samaritans were genuine Israelites. He referred to the use by New Testament textual critics of independent lines of transmission to ascertain the original text as showing that the Lecturer's use of the Samaritan Pentateuch to prove the antiquity of the Pentateuch as a whole was a valid argument.

He instanced the disregard of the Scriptures during the Middle Ages, and their rediscovery by Luther, with its tremendous results, as showing that the idolatry of Israel and Judah was quite compatible with the existence of the Pentateuch at that time.

He considered that the suggestion that the purest and most austere literature in the world was the result of a forgery by Jeremiah, as the Higher Critics contended, proved that they had a mind "void of moral discernment," which he believed was a true translation of the word rendered "reprobate" in Romans i, 28.

MR. J. O. CORRIE, B.A., F.R.A.S., said :—Our Lord took occasion to define His mission in the words, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. xv, 24). Yet He had spent two days in Samaria, preaching and teaching (John iv, 39-42). Was not that a recognition of Samaritans being of the house of Israel?

The Very Rev. Dr. M. GASFER said :—I should like to express

my appreciation of the invitation to be present at the lecture of Professor Thomson. Before I proceed in making the few remarks which I deem necessary I should like at once to state that I accept in the main the results arrived at by the Lecturer as far as the antiquity and the independent origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch is concerned. I shall have, of course, to make some reserves, but before doing it, I wish emphatically to express my disagreement with Mr. Wiener's remarks both in tone and substance.*

We are not discussing here, as Professor Thomson rightly remarked, the character and reliability of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but its antiquity. All scholars are agreed that the text as preserved has undoubtedly been manipulated for sectarian purposes; and in the Samaritan Literature, of which unfortunately so little is known besides the Pentateuch, we have even a clear indication as to the time when in all probability these changes have been introduced. I say it is unfortunate, for a better knowledge of that Literature would prove of the utmost importance for the exegesis and interpretation of the Pentateuch itself, as it represents a somewhat different tradition from that which has been handed down to us, and with which we are more familiar through the Greek, Latin and other Versions.

It is a pity that Professor Thomson has omitted in his lecture some of the arguments with which he attacked Gesenius' famous thesis, which for close upon a century have decided in the eyes of scholars the character of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and have thus far been the most formidable argument against the assumed independence of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is now a fact that, up to that time and until quite recently, our knowledge of that Pentateuch rested solely on the Walton edition, for which only three MSS. had been used, and of these neither the oldest nor the best had been taken as the basis of the edition. It has been a long-standing desideratum to obtain at last a critical edition, and this is happily now being realized. Professor v. Gall has now issued that critical edition, and has used close upon 138 complete and fragmentary MSS. for this monumental work.

Now this has a direct bearing on the lecture before us. The result of this edition is, that, like the Jewish Massoretic Text, all the Samaritan MSS. go back to one single archetype. We have thus

* Mr. Wiener's communication, given on pp. 165-167, had already been read.

before us a text deliberately and carefully compiled on lines parallel to those followed by the Jews, and the similarity goes even further, for I have been able to study the Samaritan scrolls, not only the text in book form, and I have satisfied myself that also in the writing of these scrolls there is a distinct approximation to the rules laid down for the writing of the Jewish scrolls. This is the case also of the famous old scroll ascribed to Abisha, and I venture to say I have been one of the very few who have seen and read this copy, and therein the same rules can be observed. All these texts, and therefore the archetype, contain already those deliberate changes and alterations which are introduced in order to justify the claim of the Samaritans for the sanctity of Mount Gerizim, and such other minor details of a ceremonial character by which the Samaritans have been separated from the Jews. These have afterwards been elaborated by Samaritan scholars and scribes, and I have been lucky enough to discover among them many archaic treatises which throw an unexpected light on the origins of primitive Christianity. I am preparing for publication one of these works dealing with the ceremonies and practices, at which I have been working for the last ten years. And among others we learn from it incidentally the time when, according to their tradition, the Jews had "corrupted" the sacred text. This is much more fully stated in their chronicles, of which I also possess some remarkable copies. They state that neither Eli who, as they allege, had established a Schismatic Tabernacle, nor Solomon, who built a Temple in the wrong place, had tampered with the wording of the text. This was left to Ezra, who was the first to alter the text. Here we have at any rate a definite *tempus a quo* from which we have to work backwards if we are to trace the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch to its remoter origin. It is obvious that the Samaritans would not accept a new-fangled Law if, as the Higher Critics allege, it was the work of Ezra. Nor do I connect Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat, with this Pentateuch. The story told by Josephus is unquestionably wrong in its chronology, and the Manasseh mentioned by him is the man mentioned by Nehemiah. In the chain of the Samaritan High Priests, published by me, which gives the names and dates of these High Priests beginning with Adam, and being carried down to the late High Priest Jacob, Manasseh does not figure at all as

a High Priest, and could therefore not have exercised any influence upon the religious system of the Samaritans, which must have rested upon a sacred book long before in their possession.

I venture to differ from Professor Thomson about the priests who are supposed to have brought back with them from the captivity the old Pentateuch. The Cuthæans and other nations settled by the Assyrian Kings in Samaria were only a military garrison like the Persian and Jewish garrison in Assouan, and that is why the Jews from that garrison appealed to the Military Government in Palestine, Sanballat and his sons, for protection, whilst they also approached the Jewish High Priests in Jerusalem. Those nations worshipped gods in the shape of animals, and therefore they asked for native priests to come and banish these wild beasts. The people themselves continued to live in large numbers on the old soil, and when Hezekiah attempted a reconciliation between North and South, by altering the date of the Passover so as to fit in with the calendar of the Northern tribes, a number of the latter responded to the appeal, whilst the majority of these tribes, still mentioned by their separate names, refused mockingly that invitation. The historic unity of Israel and Judah was a commonplace among these tribes. All throughout the historic period of the Bible they were conscious of their common origin; their festivals were the same, which all rest on historic reminiscences, like the going out of Egypt or the giving of the Law; and in the Bible their history is recorded as being part of that of the common stock. Israel and Judah were both the descendants of the same forefathers; they were indissolubly linked together, and Jeroboam had to take forcible measures to prevent Israelites from going to Jerusalem. All this points to one fact, that they must have been in possession, not merely of traditions, but of identical laws and prescriptions, for sacrifices, for purity and impurity, for the observance of festivals and other details, which make up the life of man.

That the Jews as well as the Israelites may have been ignorant of the Law is not to be wondered at. The religious evolution of every nation follows the same line. The book containing ethical principles is long in existence before the people are trained up to the ideal position in which that law becomes to them sacred and inviolate. From paganism and heathen superstitions which surrounded them on all sides, the Israelites and Jews had slowly

to emancipate themselves. The progress was slow and contrary, influences very powerful; hence the surprise and wonder when the old scroll of the Law hidden away in the recesses or in the foundation of the Temple was suddenly brought to light by the High Priest Hilkiah. This certainly does not mean that the book was then written. On the contrary, the very effect it had on the people shows that they must have known of the existence of such a book, and now felt the guilt of having disobeyed its ordinances.

I also fully agree with the Lecturer that the Samaritans know only the Pentateuch as a sacred book, but I regret to find that he has evidently been misled by those who, with arrogant levity and complete incompetence, have attacked my discovery of the Samaritan Book of Joshua. There is not the slightest doubt about the genuineness and antiquity of that book. A continued study, and especially a minute comparison with the Greek, has removed every vestige of doubt which may have been lingering on.

With this book the Samaritans begin their history, which in some of my MSS. is continued from that period to our times. To them, therefore, the Book of Joshua has no sacred character; it is a part of Secular Literature, and thus the idea of a Hexateuch also becomes impossible, from the point of view of the Samaritan tradition. They, like the Jews, know only the Pentateuch as the Sacred Law of Moses.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Torah was in the possession of the undivided house of Israel long before the Schism. It is absurd to assume that the spiritual life of a nation can be moulded by a patch-work, and the highest conception of morality and human happiness can rest upon a fraud, however pious the intention may have been of those who are credited with having committed it. Our thanks are due to Professor Thomson for his excellent paper, and for the challenge he has thrown down to the School of Higher Criticism, which is now slowly waning and ebbing away.

MR. ROUSE said:—The main arguments of this paper are most convincing and admirable. But two subordinate ones that do not materially help its conclusions I feel bound to modify. It could not have been simply because the men whom Zerubbabel and Joshua refused as co-operators did not belong to the tribe of Judah or of Benjamin that he refused them; for the proclamation of Cyrus, to which he appealed, and which is twice quoted in Holy Writ,

invited everyone of Jehovah's people to go up to Jerusalem and help in building His house there—"Whosoever there is among you" (my subjects) "of all His people, his God be with him and let him go up" (2 Chron. xxxvi, 23; Ezra i, 3). And as a fact some men of Ephraim returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon; for we find enumerated among the returners, men of Bethel, Ai, Michmash, all of which were Ephraimite towns (Ezra ii, 27, 28 : cp. Jos. xvi, 1, 2, 7; xviii, 13; Gen. xii, 8; Jos. viii, 12), and men of Jericho who were descendants of Bethelite colonists (1 Kings xvi, 34). Moreover, the would-be builders who were refused had themselves not claimed to be Israelites, but descendants of much more recent immigrants into Canaan: "We seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto Him since the days of Esar-haddon, King of Assyria, who brought us up hither" (Ezra iv, 1, 2).

On the other hand, to the passages cited, which prove that a considerable portion of the Israelites belonging to the northern kingdom was left in Canaan by the Assyrian Kings, one may well add the following: Firstly (referring to an event in Josiah's reign), "And they . . . delivered the money which . . . the keepers of the threshold had gathered from the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin, and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (2 Chron. xxxiv, 9). Secondly (after the burning of "the house of Jehovah" in the fifth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year), "And it came to pass on the second day after he" (Ishmael) "had slain Gedaliah" (which was in the seventh month of that year) "and no man knew it that there came men from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria . . . with meal-offerings and frankincense in their hand, to bring them to the house of Jehovah"—that is, probably, to a tent set up at Mizpah, the seat of government, covering the ark of the covenant, which is never said to have been destroyed, or, like the other furniture of the sacred house, to have been carried to Babylon (Jer. xli, 4, etc. : cp. ver. 1; ch. xxxix, 2, 9; and lii, 12, etc.). Thirdly, the prophecy in Isaiah ix, 1, quoted as fulfilled by the preaching of the Lord Jesus in Matthew iv, 15: "The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, toward the sea beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations; the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; and upon them that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death hath the light shined." "Galilee of the nations" it was

doubtless prophetically called, because in our Lord's time there were a number of Greek towns therein. But, in sending out His Apostles *for the first time* to preach, and to heal, He bade them avoid the Gentiles: "Go not," said He, "into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x, 1, 5). To these, as He says elsewhere, He in His earthly ministry was sent (Matt. xv, 24: cp. 22).

(The Lecturer hereupon asked Mr. Rouse whether he held the Samaritans to be simply foreigners in our Lord's time, and he answered, "No: they were intermingled with Israelites, as we gather from Josephus (Ant. XI, viii, 7): 'Now when Alexander was dead . . . the temple upon Mount Gerizim remained; and if anyone was accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites.'")

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S.):—I am sure we have all listened with considerable interest to Dr. Thomson's exceedingly valuable paper, and this notwithstanding that the title must have seemed, to many, to have been, in a sense, somewhat unattractive. I think, however, that we may regard both the paper and the discussion it has called forth as being among the most important of the communications with which the Institute has been favoured. We are therefore not only beholden to the Lecturer, but also to those who have taken part in the discussion, and especially to Dr. Gaster, who has given us, from the riches of his library, and from his own brilliant memory, details concerning the Samaritan Pentateuch which tend to support the author's contention, that the Samaritans are of really Israelitish descent. Unfortunately, Samaritan is not my subject, and I have only made use of the language for comparative purposes, but from the domain of Babylonian literature I can bring forward one illustration of a point touched upon by the Lecturer—that of the use of *hū*, "he," for *hī*, "she." The same thing occurs in Babylonian, especially in inscriptions of a late date, but in this case it is not due to the confusion of letters which resemble each other, like the Hebrew ך and ך, but to the deliberate intention of those who used the language. The words in question are the possessive pronouns -*šu* and -*ši*, the latter being in certain texts

replaced by the former.* This, however, as I have observed, is a minor point, and perhaps not worthy of mention.

I will now ask Colonel Mackinlay to propose the vote of thanks to Dr. Thomson for his noteworthy communication.

Lieut.-Col. MACKINLAY said :—I am sure we all heartily concur in the statement of our Chairman that the paper we have just heard is one of the most valuable, if not itself the most valuable, which has ever been read before this Institute, and we sincerely thank the learned author.

His three lines of argument summarized on p. 152, based respectively on human nature, the errors of copyists during the ages, and the use of gutturals, all converge to the same result. They are most systematic, topical and convincing.

I have the greatest pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Thomson.

(This was carried by acclamation.)

WRITTEN COMMUNICATIONS.

Mr. HAROLD M. WIENER writes :—I regret that I am unable to endorse the main conclusions of Dr. Thomson's paper. The mass of material available for its criticism is so large that all I can hope to do in the limited time at my disposal is to select two or three outstanding points and make them as short as possible.

1. According to the Hebrew Pentateuch, there are ten commandments. The Samaritan, however, has an eleventh, designed to give dignity to Mount Gerizim, their religious capital. There are also other alterations of the Pentateuchal text made with the same object. I have never heard of anybody who regarded these as original, and consequently I think it unnecessary to waste time in showing from the history how impossible it is that the eleventh commandment should be anything but a forgery. If, however, the Samaritans in fact accepted a Pentateuch attributing to the direct utterance of God Himself a command which was deliberately forged, it seems to me impossible to place any reliance at all on *a priori* arguments as to whether the Samaritans would or would not have accepted Levitical ritual.

2. From another side it is easy enough to show the relative worthlessness of the Samaritan Pentateuch. From a number of crucial

* See, for example, *W. Asia Insc.*, V., pl. 25, lines 41 *cd* and *ab*.

readings one may be selected. In Deut. xxxiv, 1ff., we read that the Lord showed Moses the land as far as Dan. The Samaritans substitute the following statement: "And the Lord showed him all the land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the River Euphrates, and unto the hinder sea." It requires no prolonged consideration to decide which of the two statements is the earlier and the more credible. The physical impossibility of a view from Moab to the Euphrates speaks for itself. The Samaritans here have rewritten the narrative under the influence of Deut. xi, 24, which they have regarded as a canon of emendation. They have applied it similarly in Gen. x, 19.

3. A third class of arguments may be derived from certain linguistic considerations. It is well known to all students of the Hebrew Bible that the Pentateuch is distinguished from the later books by the use of certain peculiar Jewish forms, such as a special word for these epicene writings of the words for "she," "girl," etc. In these matters, which are generally regarded as archaisms, the Samaritan Pentateuch invariably substitutes the forms found in the later books of the Hebrew Bible. Here it is clearly the less original of the two.

It would be easy to multiply arguments drawn from the comparison of the two texts. I pass to other matters.

4. On p. 150 it is argued "that the whole Torah . . . was in the possession of the Ephraimites in the reign of Jeroboam II." I am unable to accept this statement in anything like its present form, and I have a very definite alternative case to put up. It seems to me that there are two narratives in Kings, both of which I accept as absolutely historical, which entirely dispose of this view. The first is 1 Kings xii, 26-33. We there read that Jeroboam I introduced three great religious abuses, (1) the idolatry of calf-worship, (2) a non-Levitical priesthood drawn from the dregs of the people, and (3) a feast on the fifteenth day of a month which he devised of his own heart, viz., the eighth, resembling in other respects the first in Judah, i.e., Tabernacles, which falls on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. These departures from the Torah incidentally prove its existence, for how could such acts be regarded as making Israel to sin if they were not contrary to any existing law? It seems to me, however, that the very last thing that monarch or priesthood would be likely to do would be to circulate copies of the

Torah which conclusively proved the sinfulness of their entire cult and the illegitimacy of their whole sacerdotal order. Such men could have no use for the Decalogue with its prohibition of images of Deuteronomy, with its insistence on a Levitical priesthood. In the absence of any complaint, we may properly hold that in matters of sacrificial ritual they did not depart unnecessarily from Leviticus, and that, except as specified, there was habitual observance of the provisions of the Law. But I cannot believe that that was based on copies extant in the northern kingdom, for their evidence would have been far too damning to the whole system. I conclude, therefore, that such knowledge of the Torah as existed in Northern Israel was based on custom and oral tradition.

The second material passage is the famous narrative of Hilkiah's find, in 2 Kings, xxii 8ff. His statement is that he had found, not a copy of the Law, but "*the book of the Law.*" That is the correct description of only one writing of all that have ever existed in the world, viz., of the Mosaic autograph. Every other document containing his work is not "*the book of the law*" but "*a copy of the law.*" The subsequent narrative makes it clear that the law had disappeared from view altogether for a time, and that no copies were extant even in Judah. In the circumstances, it is impossible to infer that copies were circulating in Northern Israel.

One point more. It is one thing to adduce evidence to show that the deportation of Israelites was not complete, it is quite another to infer that therefore full-blooded Israelites accepted the eleventh commandment of the Samaritan Pentateuch and joined the sect that worships on Mount Gerizim. The Samaritans were cast out from the worship of which Jerusalem was the centre, and adopted this device to meet their religious needs. It does not in the least follow that men who were entitled to participate in the Jewish observances, and were under no necessity to enter on a heretical course, accepted as a command of God something that was proved by all their history and traditions to be a shameless forgery.

For these and many other reasons, I find myself regretfully compelled to reject Dr. Thomson's hypotheses, but I need scarcely add that I am entirely at one with him in his opposition to Wellhausenism.

The Rev. Professor A. S. GEDEN, D.D., writes :—It seems to me that Dr. Thomson is certainly correct in his contention that, in great part at least, the Samaritans were descendants of Israelites not

deported to Mesopotamia after the capture of Samaria. These would undoubtedly be the larger portion numerically of the nation. The language of the kings of Assyria in the monuments, and their words recorded in the Biblical narrative, are grandiloquent exaggerations, in very remote relation probably to fact. Analogy would suggest that the leading men of every class, the teachers, statesmen, *literati*, the men of wealth and influence, would be carried away. It would be beyond the power, even if it were within the will, of a king of Assyria to transport a great multitude from Palestine across the intervening desert. If a modern instance may be cited—the captive march of our British and Indian soldiers from Kut to Asia Minor—not a third of them in such a case would have survived the journey. Those who were left behind, leaderless and ignorant, were incapable of combination, and found themselves at the mercy of the new settlers, who dispossessed them of their lands and reduced them to the condition of serfs. In all probability a large number, perhaps the great majority, perished of starvation and neglect. Inter-marriage took place between the older inhabitants of the land and the new comers from the east. And it is the fact of this mixed descent which aroused and maintained the antipathy of the stricter Jews of Jerusalem towards their descendants. The measures which Ezra took towards his compatriots who had been led astray were designed to secure them from the influence and consequences of an evil example.

The fact that the Samaritan Canon of Scripture has never contained either the Prophets or the Writings goes far to prove that the Torah was already at the time of the Exile in the possession of the northern peoples, and that they did not receive it either as a gift or as imposed upon them by the Jews returned from Babylon. If they had taken over the books of Moses from the latter, the pre-exilic prophets at least would surely have come into their hands at the same time, and with an equal if not superior recommendation. The *data* are not available for a final judgment. The truth, however, would seem to be that a veto of communication, due partly to mutual suspicion and dislike, existed between the two peoples which was a complete bar to the acceptance on either side of authority or authoritative writings from the other. The Samaritans adhered to their limited "Bible," written and handed down in their ancient script. The rabbis of Jerusalem and their successors gradually built up a new and greatly enlarged Canon of sacred

books, which they wrote in the newer fount of script learned and practised in Babylonia.

There is much further in Dr. Thomson's most interesting paper which invites comment. I must confine myself, however, to an expression of general agreement with his conclusions, and the hope that the uncertainty and obscurity in which so much of the history of this people is involved may at some future time be removed.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc., writes:—Our hearty thanks are due to the author of this scholarly and interesting paper. The reasoning is clear, cogent, convincing. The gross improbability (and even absurdity) of the down-grade criticism of the Samaritan Pentateuch is well shown, and the author has made out a strong case for his own theory. *Daleth* and *Resh*, *Mem* and *Nun*, are unimpeachable witnesses. Their evidence is conclusive; so also is that furnished by the absent gutturals and by human nature.

We shall thoroughly concur with the last sentence in the paper.

The Rev. CHANCELLOR LIAS, M.A., writes:—I will commence with a few criticisms, and then I will express my opinion of the great value of this paper. We know far too little of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The mere comparison of the Pentateuch in the original with the Authorized and Revised Versions is sufficient to show at what a low level Hebrew scholarship remains when compared with other studies at the present day. I am inclined to think that Dr. Thomson exaggerates the claim of the Israelites in Palestine (p. 144) to be genuine. No doubt this was due, as Dr. Thomson contends (*ibid.*), to the hostility of Josephus. When he lived, the hostility of the Jews to the Samaritans, which had been pronounced ever since the days of Nehemiah and Sanballat, had had time to become chronic. Then Dr. Thomson remarks on the substitution of *Daleth* and *Resh* between the Samaritan and the Massorite text. I had not thought that it had begun so early. I had understood that the Jews brought the square characters back with them from Babylon, where they were then in use. But of course Dr. Thomson will have consulted new sources of information since I glanced at the subject—I never did more. But Dr. Thomson has never remarked on Ps. xxii, 16, where the Massoretes have substituted "as a lion" for "they pierced." A very bold emendation. But few English people are

aware that it is produced by the lengthening of the shortest letter in the alphabet by doubling its length, (the "jot" of our New Testament) into ך.

I will now make a personal grumble (similar to the amusing attempt by Sir G. MacMunn to pay a compliment to a renowned scholar by calling the invention of a German *savant* a "late recension" of the Pentateuch). Dr. Thomson has said on p. 2, very modestly, but, unknown to him, at my expense, "I do not think that evidence from Chronicles is to be dismissed on the plea that the book is non-historical." Now I do not know whether Dr. Thomson has ever heard of a book called *Lex Mosaica*. It was published more than a quarter of a century ago. But I am happy to say many of the contributors to it are still alive. I happen to be one of them. And in the commencement of the essay allotted to me I venture to question the late Dr. Driver's assertion that "the authors of the Hebrew historical books (save Ruth and Esther), do not re-write the matter in their own language, they excerpt from the sources at their disposal such passages as are suitable to their purpose."* Now, Chronicles is not excepted in any way from this assertion, and I must refer my readers to pp. 210 and 211 in my essay (if it be not a great impertinence on my part), in which I show (1) that the Chronicler sometimes "re-writes the narrative in his own words"; (2) that he adds a few words of his own or of another author; (3) that he leaves out unnecessary circumstances; (4) he inserts passages from other portions of his narrative; (5) (and Dr. Robertson Smith vouches for this) he flatly contradicts his authorities; and so on. But the most important fact of all is that, like all respectable modern historians, he *mentions the authorities he uses*.

Nor does Wellhausen come out of the fray with honour. His rollicking insolence and irreverence to authorities, none of them less than 2000 years old, and some of them much more, is unbecoming in any one claiming to be an historical scholar. If we follow him into his inquiry into the composition of the Pentateuch, we find a not less ridiculous infallibility assumed in his assignment of the "sources."

* I am compelled by considerations of space to be brief in my quotation and my answer to it.

I have left myself no room to speak of the paper which has been read. But you have all of you heard it. What I do not quite agree with I have criticized. The rest is so excellent that it need no panegyric from me. From p. 145 to the end Dr. Thomson's criticism of the critics is withering. And the members of the Institute as a body will heartily endorse the last six lines, in which those pages are summed up.

The Rev. A. H. FINN writes:—With the general trend of Dr. Thomson's able paper, and especially with the conclusion at which he arrives on p. 158, I can most heartily agree, but there are some details in the argument which I am unable to accept.

P. 144: "For these reasons we assume the claim of the Samaritans to be genuine Israelites to be valid."

Dr. Thomson sets out very clearly the evidence which seems to indicate that at the deportation of the northern tribes some Israelites were left in the land, but that the present Samaritans are the descendants of these, without any admixture, seems to me very doubtful. It is true that Zerubbabel (Ezra iv, 3) does not reject those who wanted to help in the rebuilding of the Temple on the ground that they were not Israelites, but that is only because they had made no such claim. They had merely asserted "we do seek your God as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto Him since the days of Esar-haddon, King of Assyria, *which brought us up hither*" (Ezra iv, 2). In other words, they identify themselves with the Assyrian colonists of 2 Kings, xvii, 24, and it is inconceivable that Israelites would have done this. Nor is it quite accurate to assert that Zerubbabel rejected their help "on the ground alone that only to the Jews was the permission granted." All he says is "we ourselves together will build . . . as Cyrus, King of Persia, hath commanded us"; that is, their building was in accordance with and authorized by Cyrus' command, but it does not assert that the command was issued "only to us to the exclusion of all others."

Again, the letter of Ezra iv, 7-16, clearly emanated from the colonists whom the "noble Osnapper brought over." There is every probability that the Sanballat who allied himself with Ammonites, Arabians, and Ashdodites to oppose Nehemiah (Neh. iv, 7, 8) was similarly of Assyrian descent and not an Israelite, and it

is clear that Nehemiah classed his daughter among the "strange women" whom it was forbidden to marry (Neh. xiii, 27, 28). It is of course *possible* that there may have been some amount of intermarriage between the Assyrian emigrants and any Israelites that remained in the land, but there is not the slightest hint at this in history, and it seems to me far more probable that the Samaritans of New Testament times and our own day are a mixed race descended partly from the Assyrian colonists and partly from the renegade Jews mentioned by Josephus; hardly therefore "genuine Israelites."

On pp. 151-2 Dr. Thomson seems to adopt the view that the "Ibri character" mentioned in the quotation from the Talmud was the ancient Hebrew script, and the "Ashurith," what is now called the square character. But if so the Talmud statement would not agree with the facts. At what time could it be said that the Law was given "in Ashurith (square) writing, and *Syrian (Aramaic) tongue*"? Also, if the "Hediotæ" are to be identified with the Samaritans, it would not be true that they retained "the Ibri writing and the Syrian tongue"; for, even if the Samaritan character is the "Ibri," the Samaritan Pentateuch is not in Aramaic but in *Hebrew*, "the Holy tongue."

On p. 152 it is stated that *Daleth* and *Resh* "are not confusingly alike in the Samaritan or Maccabæan." I am afraid I cannot agree. The difference in Samaritan is not more marked than in the square character, and on the Moabite stone the letters are sufficiently alike to be easily mistaken if not carefully formed. The resemblance seems to run through most Semitic alphabets, and in Syriac the letters are only distinguished by a diacritical point, placed above or below. This similarity of form may possibly be due to a similarity of sound. In one of the South Indian languages there is a letter so nearly combining the two sounds that the Tari palm is also called the Toddy palm; and I believe that negroes in their broken English often substitute *R* for *D*.

There is, however, the possibility that occasionally one of these letters has been intentionally substituted for the other, as I am inclined to think has been the case in the very instance cited, viz., *Rodanim* for *Dodanim*. There is a remarkable instance of such a substitution in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In Exod. xxiii, 17,

and again in xxxiv, 23, the Samaritan reads Ha-Aron (the Ark) where the Hebrew Ha-Adon (the Lord). The Samaritan reading is both unsupported by the LXX, and violates the grammatical rule that a noun in the construct state cannot take the definite article; yet the variation in two separate passages makes it unlikely that this was an accidental confusion of letters that are alike. I cannot help thinking that the alteration was deliberately made because already it had become customary in reading to substitute Adonai for the sacred name JHWH, and the combination Ha-Adon Adonai sounds awkward.*

As to the agreement of Samaritan and LXX, if we only take isolated instances, it is easy to come to the conclusion that where these two agree against the Hebrew, they must be right and the Hebrew wrong: a full and systematic comparison of all the variations (such as I have been at work on for the last five years) leads to a different conclusion. In the great majority of instances, where the Samaritan differs, the LXX agrees with the Hebrew, and where the LXX differs the Samaritan agrees; and this very large amount of disagreement shows that the two texts are independent. At the same time, there are many passages in which the Samaritan and LXX agree against the Hebrew, and these are too numerous and varied to have been arrived at independently. The only reasonable explanation of this is that both Samaritan and LXX are based upon an earlier text which in a good many particulars differed from that which is now received. To have affected the Samaritan, that must have been a Hebrew text, and a careful examination of the character of its divergences tends to show that it was not the true original, but a corruption of the original from which the Massoretic is derived. Even then if the Samaritans could have obtained their Torah from the expelled priest Manasseh (and Dr. Thomson's arguments against the possibility of this are exceedingly weighty), still the Hebrew text underlying it must go back behind the time of Ezra. The probability is that it was the Torah used by the Israelite priest who instructed the Assyrian colonists in Hezekiah's day (2 Kings, xvii, 28), and that may even point to its being the text current among the northern tribes from the time of the disruption in Rehoboam's reign (see *Starting Place of Truth*, pp. 66f. and 90).

* See my *Starting Place of Truth*, p. 32f.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I am glad that Members of the Institute, present or absent, have found in my paper so little to which they felt inclined to object. With regard to those present when my paper was read for me, and to whose criticisms I had the opportunity there and then of replying, I shall pass them over.

Although, as Mr. Wiener's criticism was then read, it therefore might be said that I could have answered it (and did to some degree) with those of friends present, yet the answer was necessarily inadequate. I shall therefore consider his objections now more at length. I am afraid Mr. Wiener must have been hindered from reading my paper carefully by the illness which prevented him being present when it was read before the Victoria Institute. Had he been able to do so, he would have seen that I had no intention of putting the Samaritan recension as a whole above the Massoretic, or of denying that there are many late interpolations. These I have considered elsewhere (*Samaritans*, pp. 312-315). We would merely remark that no one reading with unprejudiced eye would regard the direction as to the disposal by the Israelites of "this Law" as an "eleventh Commandment," interpolation although it is. I shall therefore take no further notice of the first three of Mr. Wiener's objections as they deal with matters not in my paper. In regard to objection No. 4, I fail to apprehend its point, especially when taken in connection with his alternative case. Speaking of Jeroboam's "three great religious abuses" he says, "these departures from the Torah incidentally prove its existence." He thinks, however, that "the last thing that 'Jeroboam' would do would be to circulate copies of the Torah." Who ever said that he did? It was generally known independently alike of Jeroboam and of his priests. He thinks that the Roll of the Law found in the days of Josiah must have been the autograph of Moses, that all others were copies, as only it could be called "*the Book of the Law*." I do not think that at all necessary; it would be enough if it were a copy specially individualized, *e.g.*, by being that placed by Solomon, according to the Egyptian custom, in the foundation of the Temple. Even if it were the autograph of Moses which was found that would not disprove the general diffusion of the Law, or of the knowledge of its contents.

It is to be observed that Mr. Wiener does not combat my initial assumption that the Samaritan Pentateuch is in all essentials the same as that of the Jews. Interpolations are no evidence that the document which has suffered from them is recent, as Mr. Wiener seems to imply; rather the reverse. I respect what I have read of Mr. Wiener's work so much that I am sorry to differ from him so sharply. I can only sympathize with him in the blunders he has fallen into as to the scope of my paper, and regard them as due to illness and haste.*

To Professor Geden, Professor Orchard, and the Rev. Chancellor Lias my sincere thanks are due for their kind words of appreciation. In regard to *Lex Mosaica*, it is many years since I read it first, but Mr. Lias will no doubt have observed that I rest no opinion either in my Lecture or in my book on the Samaritans on authorities, but on proof, hence I have not noticed the able arguments of the writers of the book mentioned.

I am sorry that Mr. Finn feels himself obliged to differ from me in so many points. His able work on *The Unity of the Pentateuch* I read with great interest when it appeared. In answer to his first objection, I would observe that I do not maintain that "the present Samaritans are descendants" of the remnant of the Israelites "without admixture." Even the Jews cannot claim absolute purity. There seems to have been a considerable admixture in the time of David, e.g., Obed-edom the Gittite, in whose house the Ark abode three months. There is also mention of Uriah the Hittite, Ittai the Gittite, besides the Cherethites and Pelethites. I refer to the message of the colonists elsewhere (*Samaritans*, p. 23). As to his second objection, in regard to "Ibri" and "Ashurith,"

* At the same time Mr. Wiener is not always meticulously accurate in regard to opponents. In his valuable book, *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, p. 13, he accuses Mr. Carpenter of error when he says that in Gen. vii, 9, the Targum of Onkelos has LORD for God, as he, Onkelos, habitually paraphrases. This is misleading unless Mr. Wiener regards the English versions as paraphrasing when they print "LORD" instead of "Jehovah." In the passage in question Onkelos has יי which Levy (*Chaldäische Wörterbuch*) says is used in Talmudic instead of the Tetragrammaton. Jastrow (*Targum Dictionary*) regards it as an abbreviation. Therefore in the case in point it is Mr. Wiener not Mr. Carpenter who has blundered.

I do not feel myself obliged to defend the historical accuracy of the Talmudic statement. I am afraid Mr. Finn had not recently examined either Samaritan MSS. or the coins of the Maccabees recently when he penned his third objection. As more convenient to handle than the Codices, if he will look at the photograph of the Watson Codex in Montgomery's *Samaritans*, p. 288, and be good enough to compare the *resh* (fourth letter) in the top line with *daleth* (second) in the third line, he will see that the Samaritan *resh* was more liable to be confounded with *beth* than with *daleth*. A study of the figures of Jewish coins given in Madden, and in the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of Palestine, will show that the backgoing line which differentiates *daleth* from *resh* is emphasized. I also think he is mistaken when he says that "on the Moabite stone these letters are sufficiently alike to be mistaken." If Mr. Finn will look at any photograph of the Moabite stone he will see that the *daleth* is in every case a triangle while the *resh* always has one side prolonged, e.g., the last letter in the first line is *daleth* and the fifth in the third is *resh*. He will find, I think, that the same thing holds in almost all nearly contemporary inscriptions figured in Lidsbarski, e.g., the Siloam inscription and that of Baal Lebanon. I admit that in the Sinjirli inscriptions the likeness amounts almost to identity, but these inscriptions are a century later in date and removed geographically 300 miles from Palestine. If Mr. Finn cares to look at the *Samaritans* he will find that in the chapter I devote to the relation of the Samaritan to the LXX, I come very much to the same decision he himself comes to. I do not see how Mr. Finn arrives at his conclusion that the Samaritan is derived from "a corruption of the original from which the Massoretic is derived" unless he means that both had a common source and that the Samaritan has suffered more from interpolation than the Massoretic. In thinking that *Rodanim* has intentionally been varied from *Dodanim* Mr. Finn has forgotten that in 1 Chron. i, 7, the *K'thibh* is *Rodanim*.

Let me conclude by again thanking the Institute for their kindness and courtesy.

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON APRIL 26TH, 1920, AT 3.45 P.M., to consider
the modification of Rule 18, Section II, of the Constitution of the
Society.

Dr. SCHOFIELD, who was in the chair, began the proceedings
by proposing a vote of thanks to the Treasurer, Mr. Arthur W.
Sutton, J.P., F.L.S., and to Messrs. H. Lance Gray and George
Avenell, the Honorary Auditors, for their kind and able services in
the past.

Mr. H. LANCE GRAY then proposed the following amendment
to Rule 18 :—

That the words from " A Committee " down to the words
" on the Council " and also the word " Committee " lower
down be omitted, and the following words substituted, " by a
chartered or incorporated accountant " and " and chartered
or incorporated accountant."

This was seconded by Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD and passed *nem. con.*

Lt.-Col HOPE BIDDULPH then proposed E. Luff Smith, Esq.,
Incorporated Accountant, as Auditor for the present year at a fee of
three guineas.

This was seconded by Mr. W. HOSTE and passed *nem. con.*

The proceedings then terminated.

619TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, APRIL 26TH, 1920,

AT 4.30 P.M.

THE DEAN OF DURHAM IN THE CHAIR.

At the opening of the proceedings the DEAN explained that he was unexpectedly summoned to a funeral of a friend in Manchester, and was therefore obliged to leave in a few minutes, but before doing so he warmly commended the paper about to be read by Dr. Pinches to the attention of those present. He believed that as the truth of Holy Scripture had in the past been borne out by the work of exploration in Eastern fields, so the cause of Truth had nothing to fear, but everything to hope for, in this domain of research in the future. The Dean then relinquished the chair to Dr. A. T. SCHOFIELD.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following: The Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, M.A., D.D., as a Member, Bertram Seymour Whidborne, Esq., B.A., M.C., as a Life Associate, and Arthur Rendle Short, Esq., M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.S., and the Hon. Mrs. Carr-Gregg as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Dr. T. G. Pinches, M.R.A.S., to read his paper.

BABYLON IN THE DAYS OF NEBUCHADREZZAR. By
THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

OF all the many and renowned rulers that Babylonia, in the centuries of her long history, possessed, there is probably none who attained a greater reputation than he who captured Jerusalem, and led the Jews into captivity at Babylon. This, of course, made his name one of the most prominent in Jewish history. But in addition to this, he was regarded by them as the great builder, or one of the great builders, of the Babylon of later days—that great capital of the ancient Eastern world, described for us, among others, by Herodotus, and specially referred to in the Book of Daniel as Nebuchadrezzar's work. This king, in fact, is represented as congratulating himself upon this great achievement, when, walking about in his palace, he said, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the royal dwelling-place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?" That he should have imagined himself the builder of a city founded at least 2000 years before his time, might well be regarded as the beginning of his madness, but there is no doubt that not a few of its glories, such as they were, were due to him, as many of his inscriptions show.

Notwithstanding its reputation, Babylon cannot have been a beautiful city, and many of its most celebrated monuments were more massive than grand. Nevertheless, the Babylonians thought much of it, and looked upon its holy places with poetical reverence. Doubtless much has to be done in the way of exploration before we shall get a really good idea of its extent outside the walls. The portion to which most attention has been paid formed the inner city, and is undoubtedly the oldest part. Here stood the royal palaces, including that in which Nebuchadrezzar is said, in the Book of Daniel, to have been walking when he made the memorable utterance referred to above ; and in this section, also, were the temple of Belus (Merodach) and the great temple-tower whose erection is described in the 11th chapter of Genesis. In this portion Herodotus's statement that the streets of the city crossed each other at right angles, and were interrupted by the walls bordering the Euphrates, does not seem to be confirmed. It is therefore probable that the old city, called Šu-anna, has to be excepted, and this would only be natural, for it may be regarded as a general rule, that the arrangement of primitive settlements, which developed later into cities, was not done in accordance with architectural plans—generally, they had no architects in those early ages—but were dictated by the contour of the ground. Outside the walls of Šu-anna, however, some attempt at the arrangement described by Herodotus may have been carried out, but extensive excavations can alone settle that point.

As I have already treated of the "City" of Babylon—the oldest portion of the great metropolis—"Discoveries in Babylonia and the Neighbouring Lands," in the *Journal* of this Institute for February 15th, 1909, and "The Latest Discoveries in Babylonia," April 20th, 1914), I need say nothing further upon this point, but it may be of interest to quote, in Nebuchadrezzar's own words, something about his work upon the great architectural monuments of his land.

As is well known, the great god of the city was Merodach, who is almost certainly the Nimrod of Genesis x, 10, and, as stated there, its earliest king—or, at least, one of its earliest rulers. Just exactly how the Babylonians looked upon him in this respect, however, is not known—wherever we meet with his name, it is as a divinity—anthropomorphic, it is true, but, from their point of view, with no human traits about him. It was to this god—"the lord of lords"—that the great temple

of Belus in the centre of the "city" was dedicated. Being on the banks of the Euphrates, it was handy for those ceremonies which needed the use of the waters of the sacred river, as when the *uru-gala*-priest, on the 2nd of Nisan, during the first double hour of the night (we should probably call this the evening of the first day of the month) approached, sprinkled the waters of the river about, entered into "the presence of Bêl," and drawing aside the curtain, uttered before Bêl this invocation :—

Lord, glorious one, announcer of oracles;
 Bêl, who in his power hath no rival.
 Lord, propitious king, lord of the world;
 Bêl, propitious king, lord of the lands.
 Brilliant is the power of his princeliness, (though) the place
 of his father he knew not;
 Restorer of the wellbeing of the great gods.
 Exalted is he—to his lord the lord giveth rest;
 The lord in his anger hath overthrown the mighty.
 Divine king of men, divine king, possessor;
 Lord of kings, light of mankind, bestower of gifts.
 Lord, the seat of thy (?) name is the firmament, (thy) leafy
 crown is the greensward (?);
 Bêl, thy seat is Babylon, Borsippa is thy crown.
 My god—the god whose heart is wide;
 The wide heavens are the extent of thy spirit.

Thus far, the text is apparently arranged in lines alternately dialectic Sumerian and Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian). All the Sumerian lines (the 1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.), are difficult, and the rendering here offered is therefore given with all reserve. The translation of the Akkadian lines (the 2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.), on the other hand, is practically certain. Short as the above extract is, it will suffice to give an idea of the ritual which accompanied the worship of Merodach during the last days of Babylon's existence as the capital of the land.

As Babylon was the seat of Merodach's worship, Ê-sagila, the chief temple dedicated to him, was located there. Why Borsippa is described in the above lines as his "crown," is therefore difficult to explain. Perhaps it is due to the fact that Borsippa was called—rarely enough, seemingly—"the second Babylon." The great temple at Borsippa, named Ê-zida, was dedicated to Nebo, but there may have been a celebrated shrine to Merodach in that city as well.

It was this great patron-god of Babylon whom the Babylonian king worshipped, and of whom he said, that he, Nebuchadrezzar,

was the favourite, and also the beloved of Nebo, and who constantly sought the path of their divinity.* From the time when Merodach had fashioned him in the womb of his mother, Nebuchadrezzar claims to have constantly sought the places of his god, and followed his path. As he magnified in the highest the cunning works of Merodach, so, also, did he constantly praise the supreme way of Nebo, the beloved of his realm, the son of Merodach. And, indeed, notwithstanding that Merodach was the great god of Babylon, it was apparently Nebo, the teacher, and, as such, the god of wisdom, whom most of the people venerated, as is shown by the large number of the names compounded with that of the patron-god of Borsippa.†

These details occur in the great India House inscription, wherein also Nebuchadrezzar recounts what Merodach had done for him. Among the god's favours was the help which he had given him in his expeditions. He had traversed, by his supreme aid, distant lands, remote mountains, from the upper sea to the lower sea (the Persian Gulf), difficult paths, blocked ways, places where the tracks were interrupted, and the feet enter not, the fatiguing road, and the journey of difficulty. And he had done all this in order to slay the disobedient and fetter those who hated him. He likewise claims to have set the (conquered) land in order, and made the people thrive, separating the bad and the good among them. He then brought "to his city Babylon" silver, gold, the brilliance of precious stones, bronze, palm wood, cedar, whatever could be called precious, in bountiful plenty—the produce of the mountains, the luxuriance of the seas—a rich gift, a splendid present, to the presence of the god in his temple Ê-sagila, where he placed them as his endowment. There he made the shrine of Merodach, Ê-kua, to shine "like suns." Details of the decorations of this chamber follow.

And at this point we have a description of the work done on the "Chamber of Fate"—a passage which shows how the Babylonians (at least the Babylonian priesthood) liked to use mystic words borrowed from old Sumerian. But it is needless to say that our hero, the great Nebuchadrezzar, was as much attracted by these strange, foreign, sonorous phrases as any of

* Compare also Nebuchadrezzar's statement concerning Merodach and Borsippa on pp. 183 and 184, below.

† See the *Journal* of this Institute, 1894-5, pp. 7 and 13.

them, even as are the Britons of the present day attracted by words from the Greek and the Latin languages, in which they form compounds to keep the plain man in ignorance, and of which the man of Board-School education can never gather the sense unless he seek the meaning in a dictionary—and lucky must he count himself if he find there what he wants. It must be conceded, however, that the case of the plain Babylonian of ordinary education was much worse, for there were no really good dictionaries which he could consult—he had to go to a word-list, and hunt it up there. It was good in those days to have a really learned scribe as one's friend.

And so Nebuchadrezzar the king, or his scribe, inserted here, to give character and a kind of local colour to the passage, a dozen Sumerian words with which to describe the wonders of the "Place of Fate"—the *Ki-namtararraene*—and the "August" or "Holy Abode," *Du-azaga*, and the "Place of Assembly," *Ub-šu-ukkina* wherein "the Divine King, the god of heaven and earth, the lord of heaven," *dimmer Lugal dimmer ana kia*, *mul-ana*, entered, and the gods of heaven and earth with reverence obeyed him. This took place at the Zagmuku, which the king's text explains as "the beginning of the year"—*rîš šatti*, the Heb. *Rôsh hashshanah*, "head of the year." The ceremony performed on these occasions symbolized the release, by Merodach, of the rebellious gods, who, at the Creation, fought against the gods in the heavens—the holy ones whom the Babylonians worshipped.*

But it was always the great temple of Merodach and the "Tower of Babel" connected with it which attracted Nebuchadrezzar's attention, for he says that he overlaid the shrine of the god with shining gold, a splendid decoration, and made bright the vessels of Ê-sagila with massive gold, and Ma-kua, the "bark of Merodach," with enamel and stones. "As the stars of heaven the shrines of Babylon I caused to be made, I maintained"

And then he turns his attention to Ê-temen-ana-ki, the Tower of Babylon, whose head he raised with burnt brick and shining lapis-stone. As this is a very rare and valuable substance, difficult to obtain in any great quantity, it is to be conjectured

* See the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute for 1909, pp. 115-6, and the reprint of this paper in the *American Records of the Past*, March-April, 1910, p. 100.

that what the king caused to be made was an imitation of lapis, such as the Assyrians also either manufactured or procured. Cedars of Lebanon were sought out for the roofing of Ê-kua, Merodach's chief shrine on the top of this great structure. "For the building of Ê-sagila daily have I besought the king of the gods, the lord of lords." But his enthusiasm here turns his mind away from the far-famed temple-tower of Babylon, and directs it to the great structure, of a similar nature, at Borsippa, which, as all Assyriologists know, was called "the second Babylon." But it was rather the great temple of Nebo there than the tower of the seven spheres, as it has been called, to which he refers. "Borsippa, the city of his abode," he says, "I beautified, and Ê-zida, the everlasting house, I caused to be built in its midst. With silver, gold, precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood, I completed its construction. The cedar of the roofing of Nebo's chambers I overlaid with gold; I overlaid the cedar of the roofing of the gate of Nanaa with bright silver."

And thus the description goes on, with details which, though hardly minute, are nevertheless too long to be reproduced at full length here. Suffice it to say, that he states that he made the temple of Nebo at Borsippa magnificent with decoration, so much so, that it became the object of admiring glances from those who had the privilege of seeing it in all its glory. And to say the truth, the plan drawn up by the German architects who excavated the ruins, imperfect though they are, show no less than 70 chambers or more—the "*papaḥāti*" of Nebo—which were all decorated with gold, silver, and bronze, had enamelled walls, and were roofed with cedars brought, in all probability, from Lebanon, Amanus, and other districts where these trees were known to grow.

But besides the temple, Ê-zida, Nebuchadrezzar also paid attention to the temple-tower of "the second Babylon" in connection with it. This was called Ê-urme-imina-ana-ki, "the house of the seven spheres of heaven and earth"—the sun, the moon, and the five planets known to the Babylonians. In this its burnt brick construction seems to have been covered with *uknī elliī*—probably an imitation of mottled lapis—a stone with flakes of bright blue on an almost perfect white. And at this point we find out why Nebuchadrezzar really introduces a description of his work at Borsippa here—it was because of the new year procession to which reference has already

been made—and, naturally, of other similar ceremonies at other periods of the year. At this time the bark of Nebo, *giš ma-id-he-ul*, which the Rev. Prof. C. J. Ball translates “the ship of the river of overflowing delight,” which is explained as “the ship of Nabiu^m,” was used in the festival-procession to Šu-anna, the “City” of Babylon. He states that he decorated the sides of this bark with rows of suns and stones. After this digression he goes on to describe what he did at the house of the victims which were offered to Merodach in Babylon—high like the mountains he erected it, constructed with cement and burnt brick.

Some distance to the north of Ê-sagila and the Tower of Babel lay the palace which Nebuchadrezzar inhabited—a structure built or rebuilt by Nabopolassar, his father, and afterwards enlarged and the older portions greatly improved by the new king. It is not of this, however, that Nebuchadrezzar speaks in this place—his subject is the temples which he restored, so he next deals with Ê-maḫ, the temple of the goddess Nin-ḫursagga, “the lady of the mountain,” also called Nin-maḫ, “the supreme lady,” the spouse of Merodach. But, it may be said, the spouse of Merodach was Zēr-panītu^m. That is true, but this goddess had many names, and these are merely a few of them. Ê-maḫ, “the supreme temple,” was therefore as the temple of Juno to the Romans, and it lay, at Babylon, on the east side of the king’s palace. This Nebuchadrezzar claims to have built or rebuilt, for she was *ummu banīti-ya*, “the mother my creatress.”

This, too, we gaze upon in photograph and well-sketched plan. It was a structure with massive walls, its entrance on the north-west, and before it the altar whereon, in the sight of the people, sacrifices were made. Originally white, “giving the impression that it was built of marble,” its brickwork is now earth grey. Its recessed architectural decoration is everywhere rectangular, and not, as in other fanes, rounded. To all appearance the walls of this edifice were regarded as being not quite strong enough, so the great king surrounded it, close up, with a “mighty *kisu*,” or wall of unbaked brick. This was a substantial structure, for it measured more than six feet thick.

The next temples that Nebuchadrezzar refers to as having been built (or rebuilt) by him are that of Nebo, called Ê-nig-ḫad-kalama-šumma; for Sin, the moon-god, Ê kiš-nu-gal, “the white limestone temple,” the name generally given to fanes

dedicated to this god. But the Babylonians had "brick for stone," and "bitumen (or asphalt) for mortar," and we may therefore be sure that the temple was whitewashed, like that dedicated to Nin-mah, with the symbolical colour which the deity loved.

Next in Nebuchadrezzar's list comes the temple of the sun, called Ê-dikud-kalama, "the house of the judge of the land," which he raised on high with asphalt and brick. This is followed by the temple of Hadad-Rimmon (Addu or Rammānu), called Ê-namhe, "the temple of abundance." The above, from their shortness, read like mere passing references, for the sake of completeness, and this is also the case with the holy places whose names follow—Ê-sa-bad the temple of Gula, goddess of healing—"she who spareth my life," and for the goddess called "the Lady of the Temple of Heaven" or "of Anu" (possibly Ištar of Erech). Several of the fanes of Borsippa are likewise referred to.

Another text gives the temples at Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar restored as being (besides Ê-sagila and the "Tower of Babylon") (1) the great House, the house of the lady of the mountain (*Nin-hursag*); (2) the house of the Giver of the Sceptre of the World (*Ê-gis-nig-had-kalama-šumma*); (3) the house of Nebo of excavations (?) (*ša harē*); (4) the Temple of Hadad or Rimmon (Addu or Rammānu), and (5) the Temple of Judgment, which was dedicated to Šamaš. He also refers to Ê-kidur-garza, which Prof. C. J. Ball translates "the House of the Judgment-seat"; and the House of the Lady of Ê-anna, which is in the district of the fortification within Babylon, both of which he built anew. As these are also referred to in the India House inscription, it seems clear that they were among his first works in the city. But he goes on to speak of other shrines, among them being the temple of Nin-Karrak, "the Lady of (the city called) Karrak," otherwise Isin, who was generally known as the goddess Gula. Her temple had fallen into decay, and had also to be restored. Interesting are the phrases with which he refers to the goddess—she was "my lady who loveth me, who protecteth my life, who keepeth my offspring in health." The temple of the Lady of Hursaga was called Ê-hursag-ella, "the House of the holy mountain," owing, seemingly, to the sanctity of the goddess.

Concerning the palaces and the fortifications of Babylon, Nebuchadrezzar has naturally much to say, as they were his

special pride, and their successful construction, needful for the defence of his capital and its people, was a matter upon which he believed he could congratulate himself. And with regard to this, it is noteworthy that we seem to have something of the real Nebuchadrezzar—the intelligent reflective man freed from the burden of State affairs and the business which claimed his attention every day. In this portion, as an introduction to the section of which he was about to treat, he speaks of Nabopolassar, his father, and the many kings preceding him, whom God (or the god) had summoned by name to the sovereignty. These rulers had built themselves palaces in the places upon which they had decided, and there they had founded their seats—there they had heaped up goods (or wealth) and piled up their substance. At Zagmuku, the festival of the lord of the gods, Merodach, he says, they entered within Šu-anna, the inner city with the high defences, to take (as we learn from other records, both Babylonian and Assyrian) the hand of Bêl. In other words, they neglected the city except when it was needful to visit it and take part in this important religious ceremony, when Merodach's triumph over Tiawath, the Dragon, was celebrated, and glory given to the god for his great and sacrificing victory, as well as for the creation of mankind. But in the case of Nebuchadrezzar, from the time when Merodach created him for sovereignty, and Nebo, his veritable son, committed (to him) his subjects, like dear life he loved to build their cities, so, besides Babylon and Borsippa, Nebuchadrezzar did not beautify a city of the land. In Babylon, therefore, the cynosure of his eyes, the city which he loved, there was situated the palace, the house which was the admiration of men, the bond of the land, the brilliant mansion, the abode of his royalty in the territory of Babylon. This was the palace which, within Babylon, extended from Imgur-Bêl, the great wall surrounding Šu-anna, as far as Libil-hengala, the eastern brook ("the water-channel of the sun rising"), and from the bank of the Euphrates to Aya-ibûr-šabû. This palace the father his begetter, Nabopolassar, had built with brick and dwelt therein, but owing to the flooding of the place by water, its foundation had become weak, and by the filling-up of the causeway of Babylon, its gates had become too low. Nebuchadrezzar therefore demolished its wall of brick, and laid bare its substructure; and then, having reached the lowest depth of its waters, he there firmly relaid its foundation, and with asphalt and burnt brick built it up like

the cliffs. Then comes his description of the completion of the building, which was roofed with cedar, and provided with doors of cedar plated with bronze, probably after the manner of the gates of Balawat (Imgur-Bél, as it was called) in Assyria, which have such interesting representations of the campaigns of Shalmaneser II. Within this new building Nebuchadrezzar gathered gold, silver, precious stones, and everything regarded as precious and grand—property and wealth which were tokens of magnificence—the honour, the glory, the treasure of royalty. In no other city did he do the same as in Babylon.

Had he, by chance, among all these treasures the golden vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem?

But the king has more to say, and his details become a trifle wearisome, until he reaches the part where he states that he added another building to that erected by his father. And here he explains the reason of this addition—it was that no shaft of battle (*gan tahazi*) might reach the wall of Tin-dir, “the Seat of Life,” as the city was called in Sumerian, that he built it. Great and mountainlike (*šadāniš*) were the walls which he made. There were two of them, and between them he states that he built a structure and on the top thereof a great house (*kummu rabā*) as the seat of his royalty, joining it with his father’s palace—its foundation was laid in the bosom of the earth, and its top reared cliff-like (*hursaniš*). It was a great and solid structure, but great as it was, this erection took only fifteen days to erect, as Herodotus also states. It is doubtful whether a builder of our present age could equal such an energetic piece of work as that.

But it is time to leave this imperfect outline of the great king’s building operations, and I will end by quoting Nebuchadrezzar’s concluding prayer:—

“Merodach, all-knowing lord of the gods, glorious prince, thou hast created me and conferred upon me the sovereignty of multitudes of men. Like dear life, I love the exaltation of thy cities. Besides thy city Babylon, I have not beautified a city of the land among all the settlements (of men). Just as I love the fear of thy divinity, I constantly seek unto thy lordship. Accept the lifting-up of my hands, hear my prayers. I am verily the king who maintaineth, who gladdeneth thy heart—verily (am I also) the active city-warden, who maintaineth all thy strongholds. By thy command, most merciful Merodach, may the house I have

built endure unto eternity. Let me be satisfied with its splendour, let me attain old age therein. Let me be satisfied with children. Let me receive in the midst of it the abundant tribute of the kings of the regions of all mankind. From the horizon to the zenith, like the rising sun, may no enemy exist—may I not have a foeman. May my posterity within it for ever rule the (people) dark of head."

From the wording of this, the concluding column of the India House inscription, it would seem certain that Nebuchadrezzar was at the time the text was written still a youngish man, and one who had not yet had time to realize the vanity of human existence. It is noteworthy, however, that the deity whom he worshipped by preference was Merodach, who, as we know from other sources, was likened unto Yahwah. It would therefore not be surprising if he looked, in the end, with favour on the national God of the Israelites. Whether he became a convert to their faith or not, we do not know, but the adoption of Mordecai, "the Merodachite," "the worshipper" or "follower of Merodach," suggests an identification, with the Hebrews, of those two divine personages, Yahwah or Jehovah and Merodach, though the Israelites must have ignored the fact that the latter stood for *Amar-uduk*, and meant "the steer of day," a description of the sun when on his upward course to that power and might which our great luminary exercises when high in the heavens.

NEBUCHADREZZAR'S GIFTS.

In all his building inscriptions, and probably also others, Nebuchadrezzar refers to himself as "the nourisher of Ê-sagila and Ê-zida" (*zanin Ê-sagila û Ê-zida*), and it would appear that he was extremely generous in this respect, though whether the other temples of Babylon and the country in general benefited by his largess to the same extent is doubtful. In the case of Ê-sagila, however, he states that he increased Merodach's rich allowances, and his splendid offerings, over their former amount. "On the 1st day an unblemished bull, a fatling, a full-grown ox, a satisfaction of offerings of delights, the portion of the gods of Ê-sagila and the gods of Babylon. Fish, fowl, sprouting garlic, the glory of the water-centres, honey, curd, milk, the choicest of oil, wines, syrup, mountain-beer bright wine, wine of Izalla Tu'immu, Simminu, Helbon, of Aranabanu,

Suha (the land of the Shuhites), Bit-kubati, and Bitati, like the untold waters of a river, I then made to abound on the votive-table of Merodach and Zēr-panitum, my lords. As for the chamber, the seat of his lordship, with shining gold its panels did I make. I overlaid the Hili-su gate with gold, and the house for Zēr-panitum, my lady, richly did I decorate. È-zida, the seat of Lugal, the king of the gods of heaven and earth (*lugal-dimmer-ana-ki*), the chamber of Nabium (Nebo), which is within È-sagila, its threshold, its bolt, and its bar, I caused to be overlaid with gold—I caused the house to shine like the day. I built È-temen-ana-ki, the Tower of Babylon, with gladness and rejoicing."

Here the king introduces details of the construction of the walls of Babylon.

As far as one can see, Nebuchadrezzar was liberal in his gifts to the temples of Babylon, and it seems probable that the neighbouring city of Borsippa, the "second Babylon," was equally favoured, for the same inscription records his offerings to È-zida at Borsippa in much the same words as we find in the case of È-sagila. "An unblemished bull, a fatling, a full-grown ox, 16 fat sucklings, the portion of the gods of Borsippa, the choicest of fish, fowl, garlic, herb the glory of the water-centres, syrup, wines, mountain-beer, bright wine, honey, cream, milk, the best of oil, on the table (or dish) of Nabium (Nebo), and Nanaa, my lords, more than formerly I made to abound. For the 8th day the plenteousness of the offerings of Nergal and Laz, the gods of È-mešlam and Gudua (Cuthah) I instituted. I set aside the periodical offering of the great gods, and besides the old offering, an offering I added."

Here follows a list of the temples which Nebuchadrezzar rebuilt—È-parra of Sippar for Šamaš and Aya, È-parra of Larsa for Šamaš and Aya, È-kiš-nu-gal of Ur (of the Chaldees) for Sin, "thé brilliant lord, my lord, the beloved of my majesty," È-Ine-Anum of Dailem for the god Uraš, È-dur-gina of Baz for Bêl-šarbi, etc.

These latter have nothing to do with Babylon, but they give names which are known to us, and some of which are mentioned, like Ur of the Chaldees, in the Old Testament, and farther on the king's work in Erech is spoken of. It is not by any means improbable that business documents may be found in one or more of these cities referring to the supplies in question. In this connection it is noteworthy that one of the items referred

to is garlic, and tablets recording dealings in large supplies of this vegetable have actually come to light. These texts, which belong to the collections acquired by G. Smith for the British Museum in 1876, read as follows:—

“5500 ropes of garlic (*giddil šumi*), provision of the king, for Gimillu, son of Samaš-zēr-ibnī, descendant of Sin-šadū-nu, head of the king's provision-house, from Nabū-mušētiq-ūrri, son of Tabnēa. He shall give the ropes (of garlic) in Tammuz, in Babylon.”

Here come the names of two witnesses and the scribe. The date is—

“Bīt-Tābi-bêl, Sivan, day 25th, 42nd year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Bīt-Tābi-bêl was either a small city near, or a suburb of Babylon.

Another reads as follows:—

“2500 ropes of [garlic], of the provision of the king, [for Gimillu], etc., from Nergal-ušallim, son of Zērūtu, descendant of Dabibu.”

Here follow the names of two witnesses and the scribe—

“Šubat-Meme (or Šubat-Gula), month Ab, day 20th less 1, 42nd year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Meme is one of the names of Gula, goddess of healing, and the place must have been so called because of a temple there dedicated to her. It is not impossible that, though an ancient foundation, it had become incorporated into the great capital.

A still larger consignment of garlic—no less than 75,000 ropes—is recorded on another tablet, but the text has no reference to the king. This is dated at Šahrinu, which was possibly another suburb of Babylon. The Babylonians in general were seemingly great lovers of garlic, and the renowned Nebuchadrezzar evidently looked upon it with much favour. The large quantity which he dedicated to the gods was in all probability consumed by the priests of the temples of Merodach and Nebo, as well as by other religious orders in Babylonia.

Herodotus speaks of the fruitfulness of Babylonia, as does also Berosus. The latter describes the chief products of the land as being “wheat, barley, ocrus, sesame, and the root called Gongae,” the last-named coming from the lakes, and equal

to barley as nourishment. This is naturally a very meagre description, for the inscriptions give a much larger list of the products of the land. We are not, therefore, surprised to read, in a contract dated in the 1st year of Neriglissar, of 21,200 ropes of *sumu* or garlic due from Marduk-šum-ibni. Most of the other tablets refer to wheat, dates (of which large quantities are still produced), barley, and a material called *kasia*. The contracts also refer, from time to time, to other products of the land, as well as to manufactured things. The most interesting texts, however, are those which bear upon the manners and customs—and, incidentally, upon the way of life, the laws, and the religion—of the people. A few of these points will come forward in the section which follows.

THE CITIZENS OF BABYLON, AND SOME PRIVATE REFERENCES TO THE KING.

Were all the periods of Babylonian history treated of, a volume might be written—and probably more than one—upon their manners, customs, religion, worship, and ways in general; and when I say this, I mean that the details might be taken from the contract-tablets and private documents alone. As is well known, these are exceedingly numerous, and amount to several thousands. In the present case, I have read through about 450 documents, which, though mostly short, represent a considerable amount of material.

Though far from being equal in quantity to the private documents of the shorter reign of Nabonidus, the third king in succession from Nebuchadrezzar, the reign of the latter was nevertheless a period of fairly satisfactory prosperity. In all probability Nebuchadrezzar's warlike expeditions took from the land a certain number of its male population, and this, as we know, would limit production, restrict commerce, and keep prices high. His warlike expeditions, however, must have prepared the way for the great volume of commerce during his successors' reigns—a prosperity which was hardly checked by the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, that wonderfully acute administrator, who took over the rule of Babylonia in 538 B.C.

In all probability there are but few who have not at least some knowledge of the nature of the documents which go to form the group known as "contract-tablets." They are oblong, not unlike a cake of toilet soap after it has been used a few days.

As a rule, the obverse and part of the reverse is inscribed with the contract properly so called, whilst the remainder of the surface is occupied by the names of the witnesses, that of the scribe, and the date. In every case, or almost every case, the persons are distinguished by giving the names of their fathers and the ancestor from whom they traced their descent. Chief among these families, in the matter of numbers, was the house of Ègibi, once described as Ègibi & Sons, and with the suggested addition of "Bankers." In connection with this it may be stated that the late Jules Oppert, with his usual caustic humour, used to say, that it was because Mr. Bosanquet, G. Smith's patron, was a banker—"if it had been Fox Talbot who had occupied this position with regard to that pioneer Assyriologist, they would have been photographers."

But there were a great many other families prominent at Babylon in Nebuchadrezzar's time, the chief of them being È-sagilaya ("the È-sagilite"—that is, the (well-known) official of the great temple of Belus so called); Babutu, Sin-imitti; Isinnaya, "he of (the city) Isin"; Sag-didi (Sumerian), "the handsome," or the like; Arad-Nergal, "the servant of Nergal"; Aššur "the Assyrian" (apparently), and many others. But the most interesting from an historical point of view is Bêl-sum-iškun, the ancestor of Neriglissar, to whom reference will be made in the course of this sketch.

In addition to the names, many of the Babylonians were distinguished by ancestors bearing the names of professions and trades, such as *rê'i sisî*, "the horse-keeper"; *paḥḥāru*, "the potter"; *nappāḥu*, "the smith"; *namgāru*, "the carpenter"; *malāḥu*, "the sailor" or "pilot"; *išparu*, "the weaver"; *lamad adanni-šu*, "the learner of its season"—possibly "monthly prognosticator," or the like—*gallābu*, "the tonsure-cutter," etc. Official personages are likewise named as ancestors, examples being *naš patri*, "the knife-bearer"; *mašsar abulli*, "the watchman of the gate"; *tuṣṣar bēl pīḫati*, "the provincial governor's secretary," etc. In addition to these, the priests of various gods also appear as ancestors—priests (*šange*) of Èa, the god of the sea; Sin, the moon; Nergal; Gula, the goddess of healing; *bēlit Bābīli*, "the Lady of Babylon," probably Merodach's spouse; *En-urta*, the god of war, etc. Their names naturally suggest family positions in Babylonian society of varying degree, and it is probable that family pride was by no means absent from the various grades, just as with us.

Very few could, like Neriglissar (see p. 17), boast of aristocratic descent, but there were certain citizens who are stated to have been descendants of Aku-ba-tila, who was also, in all probability, the ancient king whose name occurs in the bilingual list of kings, and is explained as meaning *Sin-takî'a-liblul*, "Sin, thou hast presented (him), let him survive" (*W. Asia Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Pl. 44, l. 53).

Babylon is now, as foretold by the Prophet Jeremiah, a ruin and a desolation, but it was once the scene of all the activity of a great commercial centre. Along its probably narrow streets passed, every day, a multitude of its citizens, engaged in buying and selling and getting gain. On one of the earliest tablets in Strassmaier's *Inscripfien von Nabuchodonosor* (probably later, however, than the date at which he fixed it, for reasons to be stated later on) we have a record of the sale of some slaves, returnable, in certain events, in which Pani-Nabû-lûmur and Iddia, servants of Neriglissar, are mentioned as witnesses. This inscription is dated at Opis, where, in all probability, Neriglissar had a residence. It belongs, however, to the great collection regarded as having come from Babylon.

As in all the great capitals—the modern Babylons, so to say—the residents of foreign birth or origin were numerous. At Babylon, it is noteworthy that they had long memories in the matter of ancestry, and some traced, seemingly, their origin back to the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, when not a few settlers in Babylonia bear the descriptive title of Amorites (*Amurrû* or *Awurrû*). These, naturally, worshipped their national god (later their family god), *Amurrû*, "the Amorite (deity)." In illustration of this, it is to be noted that, in the 5th year of Nebuchadrezzar, Babylon saw the offer of security for money owing by *Amurrû-sama'*, who may have been a descendant of those ancient Amorites of 2000 B.C., or a more recent immigrant from Palestine, though the former seems to be the more probable theory, as we have no record that "the Amorite was in the land" of Palestine for many centuries previous to the 5th year of Nebuchadrezzar, when Jehoiakim was king of Judea. The security for the money was the house of *Amurrû-sama'* at *Pahirtu*, "the city of the Assemblage" or "Gathering"—possibly a suburb of Babylon. For this name, compare the French "Villa de da Réunion," an assemblage of houses in rustic surroundings in the direction of Passy. The "Foregathering" at Babylon, however, was an assemblage of

commercial men, and of some extent. Other suburbs were named after personages, perhaps those who first built houses there.

Of special interest are the duplicate tablets mentioning a certain Nabonidus as "king of the city." This records the sale of a slave named Marduka (or Mardukaya, Mordecai), by Adi-ili and Hūliti, his wife (the divine Hūlitu!), for a price, to a man named Šulaya. Idi'-īlu and Akkadu, his son, took all responsibility for the possible non-fulfilment of the contract.

But who, it may be asked, was this Marduka or Mordecai? Generally the person sold is a slave, purchased for money, and therefore capable of being parted with for the same consideration. In this case, however, the person sold was not the slave of the sellers, but their son. Let us hope that Marduka was not a real son, but an adopted one, otherwise "the divine Hūlitu" certainly had many moments of grief.

Another tablet of historical interest refers to Neriglissar, and deserves mention here. In this text Akkiya son of Šumaya responds for Nabû-ušur son of Nabû-šabit-qâtē, (servant of) Neriglissar son of Bêl-šum-iškun. "If he goes to another place, he shall pay six *manē* of silver." The list of witnesses is exceedingly illegible, but one of them seems to have been Iddia, who is mentioned in the tablet referring to Neriglissar already described. The present text is dated in Nebuchadrezzar's 9th year (month and day lost).

As we know from his cylinder inscription published in the first volume of the *W. Asia Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Pl. 67, Neriglissar's parentage was as here stated—he was of the family of Bêl-šum-iškun, an ancestor whose name we may expect to find in earlier documents.

A tablet has already been described in which are names compounded with that of the Amorite god Amurrū. Here is another, seemingly a contract transferring a responsibility from Šulaya to Šama'-īlu (? Samuel), the person responded for being Nabû-našer son of Mušēzib. "The Amorite god" occurs in the name of the fourth witness, Amurrū-zēr-iddina son of Amurrū-ibni, and also in the name of the town or district—"city of the god Amurrū"—where the contract was made. The date is the 1st of Ab in the 10th year of Nebuchadrezzar.

In these inscriptions there is but little bearing upon the topography of the city, about which we should much like to have details. The 90th text in Strassmaier's *Inscriften von N.*,

however, is an exception to this rule—if we can call an exception a tablet which does not deal with the matter at all. In Nineveh, as many will recollect, there were extensive cultivated tracts, and Babylon, judging from the inscriptions, had similar advantages of open spaces. These included not only cornfields and tracts where all kinds of grain were grown, but also datepalm plantations and orchards in general. It is not, therefore, surprising that No. 90 records the existence of a field large enough to take 144 *qa* of grain, which, however, was seemingly not the only thing cultivated there—it was a datepalm-plantation, which had been taken for four years by Nabû-šum-lišir and Nabû-šar-ilāni for cultivation. Everything which grew on that tract was to be theirs during that period, but in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd year a third, and in the 4th year a fourth was taken, seemingly, by Nabû-šum-lišir. After that Nabû-šar-ilāni took all that grew there. To him fell also the duty of digging water-courses, protecting the orchards, replacing the decayed datepalms, and the raising of water for irrigation. The contract has some interesting names of witnesses and date. One of them was the son of a sailor or pilot, a second the son of a Shuhite, and the name of the place where it was drawn up was Suqain, “the two markets,” or the like. Date: the 26th day of Elul, 11th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

Suqain was in all probability a suburb of Babylon, and clearly this part, at least, had extensive open spaces. The datepalms of the plantation are specially mentioned, but the wording leads one to suppose that other crops were produced there. Though there may not have been an excess of water, it was not wanting, and had to be distributed among the plantations and fields, probably by means of the shadouf. Here we have a picture of one of the sights of “greater Babylon” when the city teemed with life, for we may be sure that this was not the only oasis which the city contained, when all went well, and there was no “drought upon her waters.”

Many were the sales of slaves within the great city at all times—ordinary slaves, high-placed slaves, both male and female (*galla* and *gallat*), and slave-women with their children. One of these unfortunates was Saḡnaya, who, with her daughter Ša-Nanaa-banī, 3 years old, was sold for 30 shekels of silver. Date: the 2nd of Tisri in the 13th year of Nebuchadrezzar.

In the case of another slave-sale the sons of the king had apparently something to do, but as the text is defective here,

that is doubtful. This was again a female slave, but without any child, and the price paid for her was 25 shekels of silver. From the list of witnesses we learn that the deputy-governor of "the land of the sea" (*Tāmī*) was Nabû-šuzziz-anni. This personage is mentioned in other documents. The slave was seemingly handed to him for the real purchaser, "at the sitting of Bau-ilat, daughter of Bibêa, sister-in-law of Nabû-mušêtiq-urri, the seller." (Babylon, the 11th of Elul, 26th year.)

And among the other slave-sales which Babylon saw was that of Ubartum and Nabû-nadin-âhi (probably her son), the unespoused slaves of Kabtaya son of Nabû-na'id descendant of Mandidi, and Guzumma, his mother. The price for the two was 55 shekels of silver. The sellers guarantee against rebellion on the part of the slaves and claims on the part of third parties, and are joined in this by two others, possibly relatives. (11th of Sebat, 29th year.)

Unfortunately all the tablets are not perfect, and now and again we come across even important ones which we should like to have in a more complete state. One of these refers to the responsibility taken for someone—in this case not a slave, but a private person and a freeman. The words needed are probably *but šēpē*, "right of foot"—that is, liability of the person answered for to leave a place in order to avoid some responsibility, such as the payment of a debt. In this case Bêl-êtir and Manna-kî-ili, sons of Nûrêa, seem to answer for Nabû-na'id (Nabonidus), their brother. This responsibility is assumed by them on behalf of Warad-Sin, head-slave of Nergal-šar-ušur (Neriglissar), probably the royal personage already referred to, who ascended the Babylonian throne after Awel-Maruduk (Evil-Merodach), Nebuchadrezzar's successor. This identification is strengthened by the fact that the document is dated at Opis, where, as we have seen, Neriglissar resided. (10th of Marcheswan, 37th year of Nebuchadrezzar.)

But besides these, there were many other scenes to be witnessed in Babylon—the joyful occasion of the wedding-contract and the pledge with regard to the dower, the rare occasions of the freeing of a slave, the open-air courts to which merchants brought their witnesses to prove or disprove some disputed point—all these and many another possibly unrecorded transaction were to be met with. One of these documents concerning the citing of principals who produced their witnesses, translated by me at the beginning of my Assyriological career—and translated

very badly, as may be well imagined—I venture to repeat here :—

THE DEAD “GALLA.”

On the 5th of Chisleu, Šarru-kīnu, son of Ammānu, will bring his witnesses, and will prove in the city of Pekod, to Idiḫi-īli, son of Dinaya, that Idiḫi-īli said thus to Šarru-kīnu :

“Thou hast not claimed judgment against me concerning thy *galla*-slave who was killed—I will make up to thee the life of thy *galla*-slave.

“If they prove it, he will pay 1 mana of silver, the price of his *galla*, to Šarru-kīnu ; if they prove it not he (Idiḫi-īli) is free.

“Witnesses : Nazia, the king’s captain ;

“Amurrū-iddina, son of Rēmūt-īli ;

“Segusu, son of Tala’u, the chief of the grain-store of Opis ;

“and the scribe, Nabû-āḫē-iddina, son of

Šulaya, descendant of Ēgibi. Opis,

month Marcheswan, day 7th, year 40th,

Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.”

Among the witnesses it is noteworthy that we have here some high-placed personages, domiciled, most likely, at Opis, Neriḫšar’s residence, and it is not at all unlikely that this circumstance furnishes a clue to the position of Babylon’s future king. In all probability he was the chief army officer during Nebuchadrezzar’s reign, and we can regard this as being confirmed by Nazia, the first witness’s title of “king’s captain.” This, too, is confirmed by Jeremiah xxxix, 3, 13, where he appears as Nergal-sharezer, and bears the title of *rab-mag*, which is possibly the Babylonian *rab-mugi* (the latter element is also found nasalized into *mungi*), “chief of the commanders,” or the like. We shall probably meet with other “king’s captains” under him in the texts referring to the royal family. Another Amurrū-name (Amurrū-iddina) occurs in line 13.

So far, I have not found the name of Nebuchadrezzar’s eldest son, Evil-Merodach (Awel-Maruduk), who succeeded him on the throne, in these texts. In all probability he had some official occupation which kept him from trading centres, and also prevented his servants from coming forward and revealing their identity in these records. The other sons of Nebuchadrezzar, however, appear, and we get certain details concerning them.

Sometimes, also, the king himself is mentioned, though seldom by name.

Probably the most interesting tablet referring to the king himself is one of the numerous documents purchased by Mr. G. Smith for the British Museum in 1878 (S. + 635). As far as it can be made out from Strassmaier's copy, it reads as follows:—

"[To] Anu^m-iddina, my lord, and Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, his lord, speak. When thou goest to the country, then I shall have decided with regard to the road for the feet of Kabtaya, who taketh a contract for $\frac{5}{6}$ of a mana and 4 shekels (that is, 54 shekels) of silver for Ablaya."

Here follow the names of two witnesses, after which we have the words "On the 20th day of Sivan is their time." The name of the scribe, and the date: "Babylon, Iyyar, 2nd day, 20th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon," close the document.

The text unfortunately leaves something to be desired, and may need revision, but I shall probably not be able to do this in the near future. The communication seems to be a direction to consult either a minister or the great king himself, and as no place is specified, it may refer to some secret mission. The mention of the 20th of Sivan points to the date of a possible audience.

Another inscription in which the name of the king occurs is No. 127 of the same publication. The document records the loan, by Ina-êši-êtir, agent of Nebuchadrezzar, of 10 shekels of silver in the form of *girâ*, which had been purchased for gold, and was, at the time the document was drawn up, with a certain Nabû-êtir. They were to be given back in three months' time, and Nabû-êtir's property, of every description, was the security. After the names of two witnesses and the scribe is the date: "Babylon, month Tammuz, day 28th, 21st year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon."

This silver, which had been given to Ina-êši-êtir "for gold," naturally suggests that it was some manufactured object, and perhaps highly artistic. Apparently it had been sold by "the king" to the person named, and seemingly he set great store by it.

Another tablet refers to the guardianship of the great palace of Nebuchadrezzar. This gives the names of the witnesses before whom Nabû-nib-ana-îli and Mušibši-Marduk took up the duty of "turning the gate" (*târu bâbi*) at the palace. These witnesses were nine in number, and said to those upon whom

the duty fell, "May my lord go to turn the gate" (*bābu tūru bēlê lillik*). One of the witnesses was "the king's captain," and this suggests that "king's captain" means, really, "captain of the guard." No payment is mentioned, so that Nabû-nib-ana-ili and Mušibši-Marduk either undertook this service as an honour, or else because it was their duty as military officers. It is to be noted, however, that they have no title.

At an outlying district called Takrêtain, we again meet with the name of Neriglissar, and it is a declaration and a promise concerning 100 sheep, said to have been delivered to Âbi-nadib (Abinadab) on behalf of Kiligug, one of Neriglissar's chief slaves (*galla*). If the delivery was proved, Âbi-nadib was free—if otherwise, he had to deliver 100 sheep to Neriglissar with their wool and young. (2nd of Elul, 34th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.)

We may just refer, by the way, to the contract for a hat ordered by Nabû-âhê-iddina from Silim-Bêl, the *galla*-slave of Bêl-uballiš, for three shekels of silver. It was to be delivered in Nisan, and the maker swore by Sin, his god, that this promise should be fulfilled. (One witness and the scribe. Babylon, 8th day of Chisleu, 36th year of Nebuchadrezzar.)

Another reference to garlic occurs in the text dated in the 39th year of Nebuchadrezzar (month lost). This amounted to $6\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, due to Gimillu, the chief of the king's storehouse, by Širiktu, descendant of Dannêa. From this it would seem as though Nebuchadrezzar sold, through his officials, the produce which he had in store. On the 10th of Sivan in his 40th year, 9 shekels of silver were due to Gimillu from Bêl-âhê-êriba and Marduk-našer, probably for the same class of produce. These are dated at Bît-Tâbi-Bêl and Šubat-Meme respectively, probably suburbs of the great city, as already suggested.

A longish inscription is that referring to the agreement of Kinaya concerning 62 *gur* of dates, received instead of half a mana of silver by Sin-mâr-šarri-ušur ("Sin, protect the son of the king"), the *galla*-servant of Marduk-nadin-âhi, one of Nebuchadrezzar's sons. No lawsuit was to be instituted against Wardia and Nabû-hiṭu-mêšu with regard to this sum. (Dated at Babylon, 2nd month of Elul, day 8th, 41st year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.)

Another son of Nebuchadrezzar was Marduk-šum-ušur, who paid, through Samaš-kain-âhi, tithe to the temple of the sun at Sippar on the 14th of Iyyar in his father's 42nd year.

Towards the end of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar the name of his general, Neriglissar, becomes more frequent. It occurs in a record of barley due from Bêl-êṭiranni, Neriglissar's major-domo (Babylon, the 11th of Nisan in the now aged king's 43rd year); in a dispute about an iron *raqundu*, in which Šarru-īlūa, chief slave of Neriglissar, brings his witnesses to prove that he has not to give a *raqundu* to his fellow-galla Ḥatanu (Opis, 29th of Nisan, year of Nebuchadrezzar wanting); and certain other documents which refer to Nebuchadrezzar's commander-in-chief, or (if not Neriglissar) a namesake. One of the contract-tablets mentions not only a Neriglissar, but also a Belshazzar, but this Neriglissar seems to be described as the son of Nergal-ušêzib, and not of Bêl-šum-iškun, whilst the Belshazzar, who was a witness to the contract, was the son of Anu^m-iddina, and not of Nabonidus son of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iqbî, as indicated in the cylinder inscriptions and on the bricks of Nabonidus.

Nevertheless, as the Book of Daniel makes Belshazzar to have been the son or descendant of Nebuchadrezzar, it is needful to take notice of the name of Belshazzar, whatever the ancestry indicated may be. The numerous Belshazzars, with varying parentage, however, show that it was, to a certain extent, a favourite though not a common name, and one of the extensive series compounded with that of the god of Babylon, whom Nebuchadrezzar held in so great reverence.

Though the contract-tablets of the time of Nebuchadrezzar do not furnish much historical material, they are not by any means to be despised, and that must be my excuse for treating of the subject here. Evidence of Nebuchadrezzar's expedition to the west I have already dealt with in my paper "From World-Dominion to Subjection" in the *Journal* of this Institute for 1917. To this I have only to add, that the latest official date for the reign of Nebuchadrezzar is the 11th of Nisan (c. 25th of March) of the 43rd year of his reign, and within five months of this date the great king of Babylon passed away.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. Schofield) thanked Dr. Pinches for his able paper and said :—Was not the Tower of Babel one of those many astronomical towers then built? Is not the true translation of Gen. xi, 4, a tower, whose top with the heavens, *i.e.*, with the Zodiac depicted on it, as elsewhere? Are not the bricks of the Tower of

Babel in seven courses of different colours: black for Saturn, orange for Jupiter, red for Mars, etc. ?—the seven planets consisting at that day of the five then known and the sun and moon, which thus gave us the names for the seven days of the week. And cannot the colours of some of these bricks even now be traced, showing clearly the astronomical character of the tower? Those then scattered would carry with them the knowledge of this pictorial word of God (as described in Ps. xix) all over the world, as stated by St. Paul in Rom. x, 18.

Mr. ROUSE said :—We have heard to-day a good deal of the reason why, to my mind, Nebuchadrezzar's kingdom is described as the golden head of the Gentile powers to which God's people Israel were to be subject—the lining of Nebo's chamber with gold, the beautifying of his whole temple with gold, silver, precious stones, and bronze, the overlaying of Marduk's shrine with shining gold, and the gathering into his own palace of abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones, and so on. Herodotus tells us, too, that the last stage but one of the great tower of the supreme god had a golden image of him, while at the top was a golden table with a golden chair before it ready for the god to descend and sit down at table. And, in keeping with all this, Æschylus in his drama called *The Persians*, when describing Xerxes' vast army, says :—

“ And Babylon the golden
Sent up her tale of men.”

Nebuchadrezzar did not claim to have been the first builder of the Tower of Babel. He said that he rebuilt it after it had “stood in ruins for many generations.” Yet anyone will deem him worthy of the name of builder of Babylon who considers his imposing list of temples restored or built, his enlargement of his father's palace, and his enormous quays of bitumen and brick, the deep moat with its bitumen foundation, and the walls towering and inaccessible with which he surrounded a citadel 4000 cubits square. (Indian House Inscription.)

With reference to the “borrowing of old Sumerian words” by Nebuchadrezzar and his priests, I should like to say this. In the first chapter of Daniel we read that Nebuchadrezzar commanded his chamberlain to choose out healthy and clever young nobles of Israel and “teach them the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans,”

so as to fit them to "stand in the King's palace." The language is put second, as though it were harder than the other learning to acquire; and, whereas the writing of the Babylonians was most complex, the scribes had to know both the Semitic Babylonian language and the more ancient Sumerian tongue* of Turanian class.

Again, when alarmed by his first great dream, though he had forgotten its features, Nebuchadrezzar, as we read in Daniel ii, summoned "the magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans"; and in answer to his first request we read simply that "the Chaldeans spake to the King," then that "the King answered and said to the Chaldeans," and then that the Chaldeans answered before the King, ". . . No King, lord, nor ruler hath asked such a thing of any magician, or enchanter, or Chaldean."

It is clear from all this that the Chaldeans formed a learned caste, taking the chief place among the professional religious advisers of the King. How could they take it unless they were a caste of conquerors?

Now, down to the time of the Babylonian conquest of Palestine (except in prophecies that refer to the downfall of Babylon thereafter) neither the inhabitants of Babylon nor its controllers are ever called Cha'deans in the Bible, or, so far as I know, on the monuments. On the other hand, Jeremiah and the sacred historian in 2 Kings xxv call the soldiers who captured and wrecked Jerusalem "the army of the Chaldeans"; and the historian in 2 Chronicles xxxvi calls Nebuchadrezzar "the King of the Chaldeans." I conclude, therefore, with Urquhart, our first prizeman (*Inspiration of the Scriptures, Daniel*) that after many ages a fresh wave of the old Turanian race swept over Babylonia and made the old classic language live again. [In keeping with this is Jeremiah's early prophecy that, in punishment for their sins, God would bring upon the Jews "a nation whose language they knew not"—a description that could hardly apply to the Semitic Babylonians, who spoke Aramaic, seeing that Hezekiah's officers of State had long before requested an Assyrian envoy for privacy to address them not in Hebrew but in Aramaic, which they understood (2 Kings xviii, 26 *et sqq.*).]

* Formerly called by English writers Accadian.

These Chaldeans Urquhart held to have been the ancient Kurds, and so do I. Surely Ur of the Chaldees must have stood in the north of Mesopotamia,* not in the south of Babylonia, as it is now the custom to place it. If Urfah or Orfah (the Greek Edessa or Orrhoë) was Ur of the Chaldees (as its inhabitants from of old have said and the Jews in the Talmud have written), then we can understand how Terah, having, at his son Abram's desire, removed thence in the direction of Canaan, stopped short after forty miles or so at Haran, not liking to cross the Euphrates into an unknown region.† But if Mugheir or Hur in southern Babylonia was Terah's native city, then, having already travelled about 800 miles thence to Haran, he would not have been staggered by a journey of 400 more from Haran to Canaan. [Indeed, he would not have gone to Haran at all, but would have stopped just half-way at Jebbah, near Hit, or Ahava, since it is there that the proper road turns off to Damascus and Canaan.]

Now Orfah is close to the southern borders of Kurdistan: and the southern dialect of the Kurds, though now mainly Persian, is mingled with Turanian words; while across Kurdistan from west to east stretches a line of rock sculptures made by a dynasty that flourished in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and wrote

* Stephen distinctly says (Acts vii) that it was "in Mesopotamia before he dwelt in Haran," that God commanded Abraham to change his dwelling-place; and the ancient geographers made the southern boundary of Mesopotamia the first canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris about 100 miles north of Babylon (Eng. Encyclo., *Mesopotamia*).

† The inference from Eupolemus's statement is quite uncertain; and he may after all have referred to Orfah, or Orrhoë, not to Mugheir, or Hur. His words are found in a quotation made by Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* ii, 17) that Abraham was born *en polei tēs Babylōnias kamarinē hēn tines legousin pōlin Ouriēn* in a kamarine city of Babylonia, which some call the city Ouriē. From this, because *kamar* in Arabic means *moon*, and the moon was worshipped in the one remaining temple of Hur, it is inferred that by *polis kamarinē* Eupolemus meant a city devoted to the worship of the moon. But it is much more likely to have meant a city with many vaults or vaulted roofs, seeing that *kamara* in Greek meant a vaulted chamber; and, if I mistake not, Orfah has such vaults for the passage of the springs of water for which it is famous. The natural objection that Orfah is a city in Mesopotamia, not in Babylonia proper, would be met by the fact that after the complete subjugation of Mesopotamia by Nabopolassar an early Greek writer might regard it as absorbed into Babylonia.

in a Turanian language and nomenclature. The Kurds were called Kardukhoi by Greeks, and are described by them as a powerful and warlike people ; and the Romans called their country Gordyene and Kordyene ; while Josephus appears to have called the people Kardoi : and, seeing that *r* and *l* are often interchanged by different languages, Kardoi or Karduoi would have easily passed in another country into Kaldaioi.

The name Kardunias given to the country of Kallimazin, King of Babylon, by Amenophis III, King of Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., seems to be allied to Kordyene, and may refer to an earlier ascendancy of the Kordukhi or Kurds over Babylonia. (*See Conder, Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 185.)

The Rev. J. AGAR BEET, D.D., said :—What impresses me most about the Empire of Nebuchadrezzar and the great city which he boasted (Dan. iv, 30) that he had built, is the short duration of the former, followed by the consequent decay of the latter. Doubtless there was an earlier Chaldean monarchy. But the fame of Babylon is due to the greatness of Nebuchadrezzar, who completed the work which his father had begun. But, some twenty-three years after his death, the city which he built as the capital of a great empire was captured by Cyrus the Persian, and never regained its influence, except for a moment under Alexander the Great.

This recalls to us the German Empire, which suddenly sprang into existence in A.D. 1870, and, after nourishing a world-wide ambition, collapsed in A.D. 1918.

The Right Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE, D.D., in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, remarked on the fact that while the Babylonians were said to have been great astronomers, and to have had the Sun-god as one of their chief deities, there seemed to be no evidence of the orientation of their temple with an alignment to the sunrise at any of the special times of the year. The temple shown on the screen was stated to have its opening at the north-west, which was not what might have been expected from advanced astronomers if they built with an eye to astronomy.

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS, in asking for a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Dr. Schofield, pointed out that the paper that had been

read indicated a certain atmosphere in the days of Nebuchadrezzar in Babylon which exactly agreed with that depicted in the Book of Daniel.

He considered that this was much more reliable evidence that the book was written when it professed to be than the critics' contention that certain words in it were of a later date, as these might easily have been modernized in transcription.

THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I rather doubt whether, in the wording of Gen. xi, 4, we can infer an allusion to the Zodiac. A tower, whose top "is in the heavens," is probably rightly regarded simply as "a very high tower." The stages of the Tower of Babel were most likely coloured, as the President has said, with emblematic colours typifying the seven heavenly bodies which have paths among the stars. I do not think the colours can still be recognized, though the temple-tower of Sargon's great foundation, now known as Khorsabad, is said to have shown the tints in question.

To all appearance Nebuchadrezzar, like many another king of his race, was a boaster. Nevertheless, we must regard the Babylonian words for "to build" as including also the idea of rebuilding.

According to the list of gods in part xxiv of *Cuneiform Texts from Bab. Tablets*, pl. 49, the god of silver was Anu, the god of gold Enlilla (the older Bel), the god of copper Êa, and the god of lead Nin-â-ni- . . . As Enlilla was "Merodach of lordship and dominion," it may be supposed that Nebuchadrezzar was regarded as "king of lordship and dominion," and on that account called "the head of gold." It may here be noted that these divinities indicate the "ages" of the Babylonians, the silver preceding the gold because silver was known to them at an earlier date.

Dr. Schofield has also called your attention to the contract for the hat on p. 199. The article in question was of the kind designated *kubšu*, and was of a shape similar to those of certain of the gods. From the British Museum tablet K. 1249, these seem to have been an indication of rank. The tablet in question speaks of a *kubšu* which had belonged to a certain Rêmanni-îlu, who had been killed, and his clothes, together with his head-dress, taken away by a

certain Zagaga-êriba. The tablet K. 1249, which is a letter, belongs to the time of Aššur-bani-apli (Aššurbanipal), King of Assyria (665-626 B.C.).

Mr. Martin L. Rouse's suggestion that Nebuchadrezzar was called, in the Book of Daniel, "the head of gold" because he was so lavish with that precious metal in his decorations of the temples and palaces of his land is good, but we must couple it with Enlilla as the god of gold, referred to above.

The inscriptions seem not to refer to any "fresh wave of Turanian" (Sumerian) sweeping over the land, and that this should have occurred seems to me to be unlikely, though the arguments adduced by Mr. Rouse are in excellent agreement.

The language referred to by Hezekiah's officers is rightly described by Mr. Rouse as having been Aramaic, which the Assyrians, like the Babylonians, evidently knew perfectly, but the language unknown to the Hebrews at large was not Aramaic, but Assyro-Babylonian—the language of the tablets, not of the docketts. Sumerian was always, more or less, well known to the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes, but it seems never to have been re-adopted as the language of the country after the time of the Dynasty of Babylon.

It would take too long to go thoroughly into the question of the Kurds, and the derivation of their name from Kar-Duniaš, which was apparently a Kassite designation of Babylonia and the land farther west—"the domain (or the like) of the god Duniaš," *i.e.*, of the Lord of the World, otherwise Hadad or Rimmon. As to Ur (Mugheir), there is no proof that this name began with an aspirate, making the form Hur. The god of the city was Nannar or Sin, the Moon.

Canon Parfit, who has been in Mesopotamia, spoke of the modern speech of the Babylonians, their turn of mind, and their language. He regards the Christians of the country as closely related to the Kurds. There is no doubt that the "Chaldean" Christians of Mosul are descended from the ancient Assyrians. This was very noticeable in the case of the late Hormuzd Rassam and his family, though he had in his veins a strain of Spanish blood. As to the "Syrian" Christians of Bagdad, they seem to be descended from the ancient Babylonians. Two of the three whom I have known were somewhat short, whilst the third was tall.

Canon Parfit also spoke of the blue colour of the upper brickwork of the temple-tower of the seven spheres at Birs (Borsippa). This he described as being blue, but the fragment said to have come from this structure, and sent to the British Museum by Mr. Rassam, though it shows (if I retain a right impression of its appearance) the traces of the vitrified brick-courses, has not a colour which can be described as a genuine blue. Moreover, this seems to have formed part of the second stage, whereas the blue stage was (according to one scheme) the fourth or fifth. The order of the heavenly bodies seems to have been as follows; sun, moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter.

It is true that, for us, and also, perhaps, for the Israelites, the most important period of Babylon's history was the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, but it must not be forgotten that the States of Babylonia had a past reaching back 3000 years or more, and that the foundation of Babylon, the first beginning (apparently) of Nimrod's kingdom, went back 2500 years or earlier. The fame of the Tower of the confusion of tongues must have been known at a very early date, and the renown of Hammurabi's glorious reign seems to be reflected in the account of the conflict of the four kings against five in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. It was apparently the power of the Assyrian empire which turned the attention of the Israelites from the glories of Babylon, but when Assyria fell, Babylon, under its new Chaldean rulers, at once took its place. In my opinion, the Babylonians were a people of much greater capacity than the Assyrians—that cruel and ruthless nation which strove—and with much success—to impose its yoke on the ancient oriental world. It was not Babylonia's cruelties and ambitions, but rather the weakness of her rulers after Nebuchadrezzar's death, which brought about her downfall.

I am much obliged to you for the kind way in which you have received my paper, and especially indebted to the scholars who have taken part in the discussion. I should also like to express my thanks to the proposer, the seconder, and the audience which has so kindly responded to and passed the vote of thanks. I am sorry that I could not read all my paper, but as you have it in print, that disadvantage is greatly minimized.

APPENDIX.

The inscriptions mentioning Nebuchadrezzar's sons (see p. 199):

1. Strassmaier, No. 372, with restorations.

(1) [Išt-en immeru eš]-ru-u (2) [ša ^{m.d.}] Marduk-šum-u-šur
 (𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠) (3) [mâr šarr]i ^{m.} Zu-bu-du-ru (4)
^{awēlu} mâr si-par-ri ša (5) ^{m.d.} Maruduk-šum-u-šur (6) mâr šarri
 a-na Ê-babba-ra (7) it-ta-din. Immeru (8) ina bit u-ri-i ina pan
 (9) ^{m.d.} Šamaš-êreš Waraḥ Adari (10) [ūmu sib]a-êšrū šattu irbaya
 (11) [Nabû-kud]urru-ušur (12) [šar Bâbili]^{kl}.

TRANSLATION.

[One sheep, the ti]the of Maruduk-šum-ušur, the son of the king, Zubuduru, the secretary of Maruduk-šum-ušur, the son of the king, has given to Ê-babbara. The sheep is in the cattle-house with Šamaš-êreš. Month Adar, day 17th, 40th year of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

The text is somewhat roughly written. Strassmaier has "1 sheep" in line 7. His restoration of *ina bit urī* in line 8 is correct, but in line 9 I saw Šamaš-êreš, not Šamaš-iddina, as Strassmaier read it. Traces of a centred wedge in line 10 have caused me to read "day 17th," and not "day 7th."

The tablet referring to another son, 𐎶 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎠, Maruduk-nadin-âḫi, is too long to give in full, but it is, as may be gathered by the summary of its contents on p. 199, an interesting document.

It is noteworthy that, as the three inscriptions testify, Nebuchadrezzar gave each of his three sons names compounded with that of Merodach, the patron-god of Babylon, and, in a sense, the equivalent of the Heb. Yahwah. The question of the great king's religious views, however, needs more evidence than is now available—all that can be said is, that in common with every other Babylonian, he regarded Nebo as a manifestation of Merodach, in the same way as were also all the other gods of the Babylonian pantheon.

620TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MAY 17TH, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

GILBERT R. REDGRAVE, ESQ., ASSOC. INST. C.E., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the following Elections: H. O. Weller, Esq., and E. Luff Smith, Esq., as Members; and Miss Mary R. Fleming, M.D., Arthur J. S. Preece, Esq., Bernard S. M. Blythe, Esq., and Professor Addison Hogue, of Lee and Washington University, U.S.A., as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced the Right Rev. Bishop G. Forrest Browne, D.D., to deliver his lecture on "Monumental Art in Early England, Caledonia and Ireland," illustrated by lantern slides.

*MONUMENTAL ART IN EARLY ENGLAND, CALEDONIA
AND IRELAND.* By the Right Rev. Bishop G. FORREST
BROWNE, D.D. (With lantern illustrations.)

NOTES OF THE LECTURE.

THE early Anglian Monuments are graceful and aspiring in form. Their ornamentation is rich in the intricate patterns of interlacement, and beautiful in the flowing scrolls of arabesques based on the idea of the tree of life; while scenes from Holy Scripture and the earliest Ecclesiastical History are remarkably well rendered. The inscriptions are general, and run to very considerable lengths. They are indicative of personal affection for deceased persons. They are made supremely interesting by being incised in Anglian-Runes, in which script we have had preserved to us the earliest piece of English prose and the earliest piece of English verse, as they were originally produced.

The origin of the beautiful vine-scrolls, with birds and other creatures feeding on the grapes, we trace to Byzantine or Near Eastern ornamentation, as set forth on the ivory chair of Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna, 546-556, who consecrated the Church of St. Vitale there, and whose name appears in the great mosaic of Justinian and his Court in that church.

The chair is covered with examples of the vine-scroll, and its two front uprights may well have suggested the actual shape of the very graceful shaft at Bewcastle. Our earliest Christian art was no doubt brought to us by Benedict Biscop and by Wilfrith in the second generation of our Christian existence; and Wilfrith, who travelled his dioceses with a company of persons, including masons, no doubt set up altars and stone crosses at places where he preached the Gospel to our pagan ancestors, where the itinerant priests would come from time to time to celebrate the sacraments; and his masons ornamented them with patterns from Italy.

The High Crosses of Ireland are less graceful in form and less early in date than the corresponding monuments in the northern parts of England. They are much more numerous, as are also the tombstones. This is mainly due to two far-reaching facts. Ireland has not been conquered, as Anglo-Saxon England was, by a dominant race which threw down the religious monuments as the work of a superstitious people, and built solid churches on the sites of unsubstantial places of worship, burying in their foundations the great crosses they had smashed. And Ireland has not suffered from the universal occupation of ancient sites for agricultural and residential purposes. Such vast collections of sculptured stones and tombstones as the Irish have at Clonmacnois have no parallel remaining in England. Another reason for the preservation of the High Crosses has been put forward—they are so massive that it would be a serious task to smash them. Ireland had one finely aspiring shaft, the Cross of Tuam. It is broken in pieces.

The ornamentation of the Irish crosses has its panels of interlacements, as the English crosses have, but the main feature is the crowding into panels as many human figures as the artist can fit into the space (much as their manuscript treasure, the Book of Kells, is spoiled). There is no indication of a love like that of the Angles for the endless developments of the arabesques of the tree of life.

Inscriptions on the High Crosses are no part of the purpose of their erection or their ornamentation. We have not the interesting details of the Anglian tombstones. The Ogam script, with which we deal in the Caledonian part of our consideration, exists in greater abundance in Ireland than in all other parts of these islands put together, and was no doubt borrowed from Ireland when it is used elsewhere. But we do not find it in

connection with the Irish monuments we have considered, and we must attribute it to an earlier race than the cross-builders, or to the time of an earlier basis of worship than theirs.

We enter upon an entirely new series of questions when we enter upon the corresponding monumental remains of early Caledonia. We have there large numbers of standing stone slabs, with, on one side, crosses wrought with elaborate and intricate interlacements, accompanied by dragons and other creatures knotted up and fettered by the power of the Cross; and on the other side of the slab crowds of horsemen, hounds, various animals, and, constantly recurring, one or more of three unique symbols, called respectively the "elephant," the "crescent" and the "spectacles." The "elephant," which, like the other two, is of very frequent recurrence, has all the appearance of being drawn originally by someone who had only glanced hastily at an elephant once, when its trunk happened to be thrown back. The "crescent," with the beautiful pins through it jointed at an angle, is like the golden ornament of the head of a king. The "spectacles," again, with beautiful jointed pins through the connecting links, are exactly like the great circular buttons on either side of the upper part of the royal robe, with fastenings made safe with the pins. These circular buttons and their ornamentation are exactly like golden buttons found by Schlieman in old Mycenæ. Some writers trace them all to sun worship.

These were probably the "figures," "marked out with iron pricks," which the Roman soldiers gazed at on the bodies of the "dying Pict," as the poet Claudian tells, A.D. 400, transferred by stencil plates to memorial and boundary stones when the Christian preachers clothed the half-naked Pict.

Unlike the Anglian and the Hibernian stones, the whole of these Pictish stones are silent, with one exception. On the other hand, there was for a short time an outburst of Ogam inscriptions in one part of Caledonia, probably due to the missionary work of a Scot, who went to Ireland to study and came back to work among his own countrymen as a bishop in Buchan, having, no doubt, in his train some attendant who knew and could cut the Ogam script, and did so cut his master's name. Accordingly, the Annals of Ulster tell us under the year 669 "Itarnan died among the Picts." The monuments of the Scots in Argyleshire are of an Irish order.

Lantern slides shown by the Right Rev. Bishop G. Forrest Browne in illustration of the Early Monumental Art of England, Ireland, and Caledonia.

EARLY ENGLAND.

The Bewcastle Cross, Cumberland, A.D. 670.—Three faces; interlacement; figure of Our Lord; the Runic alphabet (Futhork).

The Ruthwell Cross, Dumfries, ? A.D. 685.—The Cross; washing the Feet; Latin inscription; Runic inscription.

Jedburgh sculpture.

The crosses at Sandbach, Cheshire.

Tombstones with Runes.—Thornhill, Yorks, two; Hartlepool, two.

IRELAND.

High Crosses.—Castle Dermot; Monasterboice, two, A.D. 924; Kells (street).

Tombstones.—Odran, Clonmacnois, A.D. 994; Colgen, Lismore, A.D. 850; Martin, Lismore, A.D. 875.

CALEDONIA.

Monumental Slabs.—Aberlemno, Forfar, four; Meikle, Perth; Rossie, Dundee.

Inscriptions.—St. Vigean's, Forfar; the Ogam alphabet (bethluisnion); St. Dogmael's, Cardigan (Wales); Brandsbutt, Inverurie; Newton, Aberdeen.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought he was voicing the opinion of the meeting when he expressed the great pleasure with which he had listened to the valuable lecture they had just heard, with the excellent illustrations of the interesting monuments described by Bishop Forrest Browne. He had often been impressed with the wonderful resemblance between the interlacing ornaments so freely used in Lombardic architecture and the sculptured work of the early British crosses, and they had heard how this resemblance

was accounted for by the Lecturer. The fact was new to him that there was such a great difference in age between the Northumbrian crosses and the stone crosses of Ireland and Scotland. It would seem from the dates, historically fixed by the learned Bishop, that the English crosses ante-dated the others by upwards of 200 years. The ingenuity shown by Bishop Browne in deciphering the Runes and Ogam inscriptions was very remarkable, and his explanations gave great interest to the beautiful photographs they had seen. He understood that there were gentlemen present who had devoted much attention to the study of these monuments, and he would therefore request them to take part in the discussion which was to follow.

Mr. ROUSE said :—The Ogam characters are at least as old as the Roman domination of Britain, for at the Reading Museum you may see them, as I have done, inscribed on a monument that was dug up from Silchester, an entirely Roman city, which bears not a trace of Saxon occupation. The monument is a cone with a rough base, in all about a yard high, up which, across and on either side of a long upright line, runs the inscription ; and this was clearly read by Professor Rhys as the name of a chieftain, *mic*, or son of, another chieftain.

If the Druids, as Bishop Browne says, used the Ogam characters as signs with their hands before they wrote them, we can understand how Julius Cæsar imagined that they did not write at all, but imparted all their knowledge to their disciples by word of mouth lest it should leak out to the mass of the people.

In Cornwall one meets with still older monuments of Christianity than the beautiful Runic crosses reproduced, described and deciphered for us by Bishop Browne. At St. Colombs, a village called after Columba, beside its old parish church I have seen the head of a stone completely cut out in the form of the Greek letter X, the first in the name *Christos*, surrounded with a circle, and again a broad stone post, about 8 feet high, stated to be more ancient, with a broad X near the top of it ; and I learnt in the neighbourhood that there are a good number of stones so carved in Cornwall, and that they are believed to have been set up as rallying marks for listeners to the Gospel of Christ and the Word of God preached

in the open air by such men as Columba and Pieran, whose tomb I have seen in the ruins of that small simple British church which lay overwhelmed by sea sand for 300 years until it was dug out by Haslam about eighty years ago.

Dr. SCHOFIELD said that they had too few archæological papers, and that the Society were much indebted to Dr. Forrest Browne for his interesting lecture on early monumental art in England, and that he trusted we should have another paper on a similar subject before long. His remarkable interpretation of Ogam in its origin was somewhat new. His history of this antique script, consisting of incised lines on the edges of slabs of stone, was very interesting. The subject is most obscure, and some have gone so far as to connect the scripts of music with that of Ogam. It was his good fortune to know a widow lady, Mrs. Jones, who had a large farm near Saundersfoot in South Wales. In the next field to the garden stood a stone post that had been used as a rubbing-post by the cattle for centuries. One day, however, a savant calling there, examined the post and found a long Ogam inscription on one side, and a later one on the other in Latin. He deciphered them and found the stone was a monument erected to the memory of a famous British prince who ruled that part of Wales. The Latin inscription also stated the same. From the date, however, the inscription appeared untrue, inasmuch as by then the British prince had been superseded by the Roman Government. It was found, however, by research that the Roman historian, while stating this fact, makes one exception, and names the British prince whose name is on this stone as being so distinguished by his wise rule that he continued to reign. Needless to say that in late years hundreds from America and elsewhere have visited the stone, and very large sums have been offered for it, but it still stands where it did, with a fence round it.

Mr. JAMES GRAY said that his interest in Celtic monuments in Scotland lay in rather a different direction from that in which lay those dealt with by the Lecturer, as he had given more attention to the relics of pagan than of Christian times in Scotland. He desired, however, to add a few words as to the cross at Ruthwell in Dumfries-shire, which he had studied, and which the Lecturer

had described so well. This most striking and beautiful monument had originally stood in the churchyard there till 1642, when it was broken in pieces, though the fragments were preserved inside the church till near the end of the eighteenth century, when they were placed on the ground in the churchyard again. But about 1802 the cross was partly dug up and completely re-erected in the garden of the manse by the parish minister, new arms being designed for it by him and added some years later. The whole is now, with a fine disregard of Presbyterian scruples, placed within the parish church in an apse built to receive it about 1887. The inscription in Runic letters, running along its edges from the base to the top and down the other side to the base again, without any division into words, was at first translated wrongly as being Old Norse; and although the letters were read fairly correctly, and as translated made sense, the translation was completely mistaken. It was to the effect that a baptismal font of 11 lbs. in weight was given by the authority of certain Fathers to atone for the devastation of certain fields and the theft of certain cows. In 1840, however, the late Mr. J. M. Kemble correctly read what remained legible of the inscription as Anglo-Saxon and rhythmical, and showed that it was a poem describing the Passion of Our Lord, with, unfortunately, considerable gaps where the Runes on the stones were defaced. In the poem the Cross addressed the Crucified, and considerable portions of the writing were legible. The whole story of its decipherment is given by Dr. Joseph Anderson in the Second Series of his Rhind Lectures on *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1880, published by David Douglas of Edinburgh in 1881, from which it appears that long after he had deciphered the stone Mr. Kemble found in an appendix to a Report to the Record Office on quite another subject by Mr. Cooper, a complete poem of 314 lines entitled "The Dream of the Holy Rood," in which (as Dr. Anderson puts it) the Christian sees in a vision the instrument of man's salvation appearing in the sky surrounded by angels, and revealing its sympathy with the Passion and Glory of the Redeemer, and breaking into impassioned but dignified language as it tells the story of its experience on the Day of the Crucifixion.

Dr. Anderson goes on to give certain parts of the poem, which are freely translated by him from the manuscript in the Saxon tongue found by Mr. Cooper at Vercelli.

Professor Stephens, in his *Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, states that he had read on the upper part of the cross in Runic letters the words "Caedmon me made," referring to the poem not to the cross, which is said to belong to the tenth century.

Mr. Gray gave the two diverse renderings of this inscription as an instance of the extreme difficulty which the Lecturer must have met with in deciphering the numerous monumental records which he had described so clearly and simply to those present, and apologized for alluding to the story of the Ruthwell cross, which must have been well known to all. He also mentioned Mr. J. Romilly Allen's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, which contained not only photographs but reproductions of the designs of every monumental stone in Scotland, and a full description of the Ruthwell cross (see pp. 442-48). At p. 243 of his book Dr. Anderson gives a free translation of parts of the poem found in the manuscript at Vercelli, printing those which are still legible on the Ruthwell cross in italics as follows :—

'Twas many a year ago,
I yet remember it,
That I was hewn down
At the wood's end.

.

There men bare me upon their shoulders
Until they set me down upon a hill.

.

Then saw I tremble
The whole extent of earth.

.

But yet I stood fast.
*Then the young Hero prepared Himself,
That was Almighty God,
Strong and firm of mood
He mounted the lofty Cross
Courageously in sight of many.*

.

I trembled when He embraced me,
 Yet dared I not to bow earthwards—
 Fall to the bosom of the ground,
 But I was compelled to stand fast.
 A cross was I reared,
I raised the powerful King,
The Lord of the heavens,
I dared not fall down,
 They pierced me with dark nails.

They reviled us both together,
I was all stained with blood
Poured from the Man's side.

The shadow went forth
 Wan under the welkin,
 All creation wept,
 They mourned the fall of their King.
Christ was on the Cross,
And thither hastening
Men came from afar
Unto the noble One—
I that all beheld
With sorrow I was stricken.

The warriors left me there
 Standing defiled with gore,
With shafts all wounded
They laid Him down limb-weary,
They stood at the Corpse's head
Beholding the Lord of Heaven,
 And He rested Himself there awhile,
 Weary after the mighty contest.*

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said the Victoria Institute is happy in having to-day not only a distinguished exponent of ancient art in this country as Lecturer, but also in having as Chairman a distinguished representative of modern English art. Mr. Redgrave

* For the Runes and Saxon original see Romilly Allen, pp. 446-48.

is the son of a very eminent and well-known Royal Academician, and he is himself an architect with an excellent reputation. The present is, I think, the first occasion he has been with us; we trust that he will frequently come in the future. We shall always welcome him warmly. I have the greatest pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to him for presiding. (*Carried unanimously.*)

621ST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, THE CENTRAL HALL
WESTMINSTER, S.W., ON MONDAY, MAY 31ST, 1920,
AT 4.30 P.M.

ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, Esq., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN called on Lieut-Col. Mackinlay, acting for Mr. W. Hoste (absent in Dublin) to read the Minutes of the previous meeting; they were read, confirmed and signed.

The following elections were announced:—Miss E. L. Curteis and Miss Florence E. King as Associates, and the Right Rev. Dr. M. S. O'Rorke, Bishop of Accra, as Foreign Corresponding Member.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced the Rev. S. A. McDowall, B.D., and called upon him to read his paper on "The Meaning of the *Æsthetic Impulse*."

THE MEANING OF THE ÆSTHETIC IMPULSE. By the
Rev. STEWART A. McDOWALL, M.A., B.D.

I BELIEVE that I am guilty of no exaggeration in saying that we owe to the genius of Benedetto Croce the first really competent theory of *Æsthetic* and of the nature and place of the Beautiful. No doubt there are still difficulties which he has not fully elucidated; no doubt there are many points in his whole philosophical system that are open to objection. Among these I should give the first place to his rejection of the idea of God as generally conceived in religious philosophy. Nevertheless, he has advanced the cause of thought in a degree given to few philosophers in the whole history of speculation; and, most important of all for our present purpose, we find for the first time in his system a place accorded to Beauty that is consonant with her actual importance in the life of every man and woman. Moreover, his theory of *Æsthetic* is destined, I am convinced, to play no unimportant part in the reconstruction of the philosophy of Christianity which is already well under way. My purpose this evening is to try to indicate one or two of the ways in which it may influence this reconstruction, and to offer a few suggestions of a practical nature which seem to arise out of the ideas which I shall try to put forward.

As what I want to say to you will be based on Croce's theory,

I fear that I must preface it with a very brief account of that part of his work which I am going to use, in case some here have not had the opportunity of studying it. I can only ask those who know it at first hand to let their thoughts wander pleasantly during a summary which must necessarily be jejune, but which will, I hope, be short !

Of course, if the fine arts seem to a man to be utterly distinct, with nothing in common but a background of emotion, Croce's theory, and all that I am going to say this evening, must seem simply a meaningless attempt to express something that does not exist. But if, as Croce urges, each art aims at presenting, through the practise of its own conventions, aspects of truth which are suitable to that special medium, an honest attempt to find and define the common factor of all arts may lead to knowledge of real value. It is not really possible to give a short and clear summary that will do justice to the most interesting and elusive of modern philosophies ; but the main position in regard to æsthetic is fairly simple, and it marks a real advance in this problem of finding a common factor in the arts, as well as giving an adequate place to æsthetic in philosophy.

We may begin by explaining what Croce means by an intuition, what he means by the *a priori* synthesis, and what part the relation of the double degree plays in his system.

When you perceive an object, already you are using two mental processes which cannot in fact be separated, or exist the one without the other. In the first place there is simple awareness of a reality. You objectify an impression without arguing as to its reality at all, or relating it to yourself or anything else. You merely characterize the thing and are aware of it as concrete and individual. This is the pure intuition. It has no admixture of intellectual process. Its salient character is, that it is made and expressed by the mind, and is indeed identical with this expression. You cannot separate the intuition from its expression. Moreover it is æsthetic in nature. Its character is identical with the character of the mind-process which makes the vision of the artist and the poet.

But at once this intuition is generalized and related. The process of generalization is the formation of the concept, and is characteristic of the logical or intellectual activity. Moreover, the pure concept is universal, and expressive, belonging to all individuals ; concrete, and therefore real. Pseudo-concepts, which fail either in universality, expressiveness or concreteness,

do exist, and are of great value, but this value belongs not to the theoretical, but to the practical activity. "Evolution" is a pure concept, "Chair" a pseudo-concept. For our purpose it is not necessary to elaborate this point.

What does interest us is the relation between the two theoretical activities of the spirit—Intuition and Concept. They are "Moments in the unity of a single process." Neither takes a prior place. "We cannot think without universalizing, and we cannot have an intuition without thinking." In other words, they are related in a synthesis that is *a priori*. This means that the intellectual activity which relates and generalizes the intuitions or presentations does not depend on them, but is as much a condition of experience as are the presentations themselves. Each of the two things, the intuition and the concept, is essential to knowledge; the concept is empty of content without the intuition, but you cannot have an intuition without thinking it. The two form an indivisible, organic unity; neither is able to exist without the other. You cannot think without universalizing, not intuit without thinking. This is really the logical *a priori* synthesis discovered by Kant. But Croce proceeds to use it in a wider sense, as we shall see.

These two elements, then, the intuitional and the conceptual, together constitute the whole theoretic activity of knowing.

Now the first of these elements, the intuition, is expression of a reality to the self. It is essentially æsthetic, for Æsthetic is the science of expressive activity. In forming an intuition, and expressing it, we compass Beauty, for Beauty is expression.

But there is another side to the activity of spirit. Thinking and doing, willing and acting, go hand in hand.

The practical activity begins as Economic, directed towards particular ends. There is individual action; but there is also action universalized: directed to general ends: and this action is Ethical. Utility passes over into goodness: there is no good action which is not in some way useful, there is no useful action which is not in some way good.

Here again, then, we have two inseparable activities, related, as are the theoretic activities, as a first and second degree, yet each involving the other. The relation is identical with that of the *a priori* syntheses, and the term may be extended to cover this relation also.

Finally, the two sides of the activity of the spirit, the theoretic and the practical, are themselves related in this same double

degree by a relation of syntheses that we may again term *a priori*. The theoretic activity cannot exist apart from the practical nor the practical apart from the theoretic. The relation is again the same as that which obtains for the relation of the elements constituting each pair of the four "Moments," and for the pairs themselves in their relation to each other. The *a priori* synthesis is extended to cover all these relations.

Croce's great contribution to the theory of Beauty then lies in his proof that Beauty is not judgment, but expression—the expression of the intuition which is our first contact with Reality—and that *Æsthetic* is the science of expressive activity. Given this first movement of the spirit, the other modes of approach to Reality follow, or rather are involved.

It must, however, be borne in mind that Croce draws an absolutely definite line between the expression, which belongs to the theoretic activity, and the technical embodiment of that expression in art, which belongs to the domain of the Practical. A work of art affords us simply the stimulus which enables us to recreate the artist's expression; and it is the expression, not the work of art, that is beautiful. The Beautiful is a distinct concept; the Ugly is ugly in so far as it fails in distinctness, through failure to express.

Such, in brief, is the portion of Croce's philosophy with which we are concerned. The rest it is needless for us to follow out. The chief point that remains is his identification of Philosophy with History—the *thought* about the presentation of Reality (Philosophy) with that presentation itself as an unfolding of immanent life (History). This identification really follows from the relation of the double degree between the theoretic and the practical. In thinking past history you bring it into the present as a practical issue; and you introduce the logical element in thinking it, but you could not do so if there were not an intuitive element in it intrinsically. Philosophy is historically conditioned: without philosophy there could be no history. With this argument, whose affinities with the philosophy of Bergson are obvious, Croce rounds off his system, completing his demonstration that the only Reality is living Spirit immanent and unfolding.

Now, I cannot help feeling that Croce's theory of *Æsthetic* is true, as far as it goes. When one comes across a thought that is true, however new it be, as soon as one has digested it it seems as old as the hills, and takes on the quality of obviousness.

I think that this is really a pretty good test of the value of a discovery in the realm of thought. And in my opinion Croce's theory satisfies the test.

Nevertheless, when I think of his philosophy as a whole I find that it brings me unerringly to a threshold and then stops dead, saying that there is no threshold really, nor anything beyond. Croce himself tells me (I am using the first personal pronoun quite impersonally, by the way!) that this is because I confuse mystery, which is the infinity of evolution, with history: that life is without a summit. But still I am not satisfied. He tells me that I still need a God only because I persistently hug this false philosophy of History. And still I am not satisfied with a pantheistic monism. I do want a God, and I further want to find out why he does not. I think it was Poe who pointed out that if you are hunting for place-names on a map, the ones you cannot find are those in the largest print! At last it dawns on me that in his system there is no room for the peculiar quality of personality—that individual, permanent capacity for fellowship which lies at the root of love, redeeming it from hopeless transience. I accept his account of the interlacing theoretic and practical activities of life; I accept his æsthetic intuition as the first contact with reality, its expressions and its subsequent logical development; I accept his statement of the dependence of the practical activities on these, and his division of the practical activities themselves into the primary economic one and the consequent ethical; but still, I am I, and I love. To me the fundamental relation with Reality is a personal one; nay, the fundamental reality *is* personal relation. This, I believe, must represent the criticism of each of us as we soak ourselves in the wonderful work of Croce. And fortunately, as far as my poor judgment goes, we can hold this view, and yet scrap nothing of value in Croce's philosophy. Let us but add to Croce's definition of Beauty as the expression of our intuition of Reality, the words "of relationship": let us but extend his shortened definition that "Beauty is the expression of an intuition" into "Beauty is the expression of an intuition of relationship," and we have all we need.

Obviously, before we begin to apply the thought contained in this definition of Beauty we must first, and very briefly, justify its choice.

Now, when we are faced with something that is insistently beautiful, its immediate effect upon us is to produce a sense

of yearning desire, and this means that we feel something to be lacking to us. Moreover, the yearning is creative; those of us who can do so pour out our creative effort in music, in painting, in poetry; those of us who have less power of artistic expression in an objective medium turn back to our daily work with a feeling of inspiration. We have at least been witnesses of a Transfiguration, and something of its holiness abides with us, giving new meaning to our tasks.

Nevertheless, the immediate effect of our vision *was* dissatisfaction, and dissatisfaction of a peculiar type. There is only one thing that resembles it at all, and that does so completely. This thing is unrequited love. Now in unrequited love we are receiving all and giving nothing. All the beauty, all the grace, all the charm of the loved person is given to us in unstinted measure, for the gift cannot be withheld. But the object of our love will have nothing from us. We cannot give again. The relation is not reciprocal: hence our pain. I am aware that this idea that we are receiving and not giving is precisely the opposite of that usually entertained, but nevertheless I am convinced that a very few moments' thought will show that it is the true account of what happens.

Now when we see a beautiful thing precisely the same thing happens. We are receiving: we cannot give. The reciprocal relation which personality demands is absent. Hence, the dissatisfaction. But we have seen that it issues in a desire to create. Why? Surely because we feel that we must give something in return for what we have received. A vision has been vouchsafed to us, and we must see to it that others gain something from what we have learned, because, as Croce has shown, what we have learned is Reality. Here again we are up against the demand of personality for relation with other personalities. Relationship, always relationship, is craved. But the only relationship that satisfies is the relationship of reciprocal love. Love is the ultimate reality for personal beings. In love, giving and receiving are balanced equally. But between Beauty and Love there is a close relation.

So far I have only said again very briefly what I have already tried to say elsewhere. Before we pass on to some applications of this view, let me run over again the points that are fundamental to it.

Our first contact with Reality is by an intuition. This intuition we have to express clearly to ourselves, and in expressing it we

perform the æsthetic act, and the expression itself is Beauty. We may gain our contact with Reality through nature itself, or through another more penetrating mind that has perpetuated its vision through the technical medium of words, music or picture. Whichever way our intuition comes, it means a gift, for which we can give no return. Because it means this, we are dissatisfied, and our dissatisfaction endeavours to remedy itself by giving a gift to the world. In some way, small or great, we create. But we never achieve the same sense of rest and satisfaction that love gives us—the love that is equal between the friends. A pain like that of unreturned love remains.

Now let us approach our problem of the meaning of the æsthetic impulse from another angle.

God is Love. If there be a God at all (and in a brief lecture like this one cannot stop to discuss the many arguments, even purely intellectual ones, that make it probable), He must be Love. Nothing else will serve to explain the gradual emergence of love as the prime quality of personal being. If God be Love, He must know Himself as Love—that is, as a relation between Persons. This is one of the fundamentals that the doctrine of the Trinity is trying to express. If, then, we can imagine a God like that: a God before creation; a God whose love is satisfied for ever in this mutual internal relation—and I do not think we can, for a reason I will try to explain immediately—He would know all Reality in knowing Himself as the perfect relation of Love. He would be the Absolute—and *He would contradict his own Nature as Love.*

A Love that was content with its own perfect self-experience would have self as its object: Love would be simply selfishness raised to its highest power. I do not think you can escape this conclusion by emphasizing the doctrine of the Trinity as desiderating Three Persons, unless you deny the One God. Tritheism might get over the difficulty; Monotheism, even Trinitarian Monotheism cannot. If this be so, we are left with only one alternative—that God must eternally be Creative. The Perfect Experience, such as God's must be, can only be love if it be shared; for this sharing, with its implication of self-abnegation in giving the necessary opportunity of winning freedom to the creatures it calls into being, gives just the self-surrender that is essential to Love. I do not know that we can get much further than this, nor am I certain that it is capable of statement in the terms of a purely intellectual metaphysic.

But it does seem to me to touch a chord in us that is only put into vibration by true things. If this be so, must we then give up the idea of the Absolute Unity, and say that Reality is God plus the finite particulars He creates? If we must, I for one am prepared to do so; but I am not convinced of the necessity. It lands us in Pluralism, and though I believe Pluralism contains a great truth, undiluted it seems to lead straight to disaster for some things that are of vital importance. But if the ultimate destiny of the created spirit is complete union with God and complete sharing of His Perfect Experience, while yet it retains its self-identity, the Absolute being this perfect experience of Love or intercommunion which is God's Experience of Himself, I am not at all sure that we do not gain the advantages, yet escape the troubles of Pluralism, except in the time-process of development or becoming (where there is no real difficulty), while yet securing the ultimate Unity which is the aim of all philosophies of the Absolute. To discuss this would take us too far, even if I were competent to do it, but it was necessary to mention the point, because what I am trying to say about the meaning of the æsthetic impulse has its roots in the conception that God is Love, and that Love is necessarily externally creative. From these two premises we will now go on.

Love, then, cannot be satisfied without sharing, not for its own sake, but for the sake of those it can potentially create to share its joy. Hence arises, as far as we can humanly judge, its characteristic of external expression through creation, involving, as it does, self-abnegation, because to grant to others freedom, is to limit your own by giving up your powers of control where they are concerned. Only on the basis of such freedom can love grow in the creature.

Now comes the important point. God's creation must thus express a relation, but, till love of God is born in that creation, the relation is not reciprocal. It is God's expression of His knowledge of Reality, which is Love, but that Reality is not wholly and everywhere actualized. In fact, the creation is not yet absolutely Real. It is, however, beautiful. It exactly fulfils our definition of Beauty as the expression of an intuition (or immediate knowledge) of relation. But it will only receive its ultimate justification in love.

If we have argued justly, we come then to this conclusion: that the creation of God is designed for His purpose of entering

into relation with others and is based on the Reality which is Love; and that it must therefore be beautiful. Does not this give us the clue to the place of Beauty in Life? Does it not furnish us with a guide to the practical applications of Æsthetic? Should not the creations of men of every kind be consciously, as they are already unconsciously, designed for the purpose of entering into relation with others, while at the same time the final, Godward meaning of that relation is kept deep in the heart's understanding?

Somewhere in this region, I venture to say, lies the true Æsthetic. The Beauty we create expresses our intuition of Reality for ourselves, that we may enter into relation with God, and for others it acts externally to make them see our vision, and to draw them too into that same relation. I would exclude no technical mode of external expression from the scope and the demands of this conception, be it religious picture or ballet, concerto or model dwelling. Each gives our intuition to other men, and makes them see what we saw. If we saw low things, through our eyes they will see them too. Sometimes to see low things is desirable, for without understanding them we might understand little. So long as we do not pretend that they are high things it will be all right. But if we lose touch with truth, making low things high, and high things low, we shall produce something ugly, and do a good deal of harm to taste, and therefore to its practical application in morals, and moreover by lying about beauty we shall blind both ourselves and others to beauty and to truth and to goodness. For these three are very closely linked, and you cannot define any of them but in terms of one of the others. Anyway, it is safer as a rule to see and express the higher things in so far as we can. But the first need of all is artistic honesty that has clear intuitions and gives its whole heart and soul to their expression.

I do not mean in any way to suggest that Art should be trammelled by moral considerations. The attempt to impose such a censorship is bound to bring both Art and Morals into disrepute, if for no other reason, because the practical application of moral imperatives in any given time and place is so much at the mercy of social conventions masquerading as the real thing. But there is a more fundamental reason than that. Art, Reason, and Morals each attempt to get into touch with Reality, but each has its proper method of approach. Each is based on the expression of an intuition, and so far depends upon

the æsthetic activity for its very existence; but each has its own sphere of activity. Art has its economic and its ethical side, as any practical activity must, but it is primarily concerned with the technical embodiment of the intuition itself, the intuition being subjected to little logical development. It is nearest to the intuition. Reason is concerned with theoretical deductions and inductions from the intuition, through logical processes. Morals are concerned with the higher forms of the practical activity, through conduct, but they are ultimately dependent on the theoretic activity. All alike deal with Reality; each in fact involves the others in some degree, though artificially capable of isolation from them in argument, yet none is susceptible of definition but in terms of one of the others, in the last resort—as how should it be, since Reality *has* these three aspects—the Good, the True, the Beautiful—when men's minds turn upon it. Yet Reality is not comprehended in any one of these three terms. It is True, it is Good, it is Beautiful; but it is these because it is the Relation we call Love.

All we can demand of Art, whatever form it take, is then, that it shall be true to itself—and that means, express its intuitions truly, remembering that it is in touch with Reality, and is therefore concerned with relationship.

Let me again sum up what we have been saying, in order that, assuming that we have not been altogether astray from the true path, we may see the meaning of the æsthetic impulse more clearly, and perhaps suggest to ourselves some practical consequences. The conclusion we have really come to is rather an odd one. It is this. A thing may be beautiful, and equally it may be true, and good, while yet it is not wholly Real. Now this actually comes straight out of our statement that God is Love, for love is essentially a reciprocal relation. But we have said that Beauty is the expression—and that means that is the work, so far, of the percipient—that Beauty is the expression of our intuition of a relation which is not reciprocal. Beauty is first of all the index of God's creative activity, which itself is the necessary consequence of the fact that He is Love. Further, I think that we may say that His creation is beautiful for Him, pre-eminently, since it is the expressive activity of His love which is Reality, but is not yet itself Love, since it is not conscious of Him. To us this objective creation—selves and things—is, or gradually becomes, beautiful as we come to see in it a reality only to be explained in terms of relationship,

and still more as we come to see behind this one-sided relation the reciprocal relation of Love. And this we do through looking behind the appearance which at first seemed to us to be reality, to the fundamental Reality which is the Nature of God.

Thus the cosmos, which is the expression of God's self-limitation for the sake of vindicating His love—Himself—is for Him beautiful, and for us. It becomes the symbol of Creation's meaning, the Sacrament of Personal Being. Beautiful, it is also true, in spite of its being but appearance, for it is Appearance essential to the Reality behind it. Beautiful and True, it is also Good, for it is rooted and grounded in Love, and Goodness is the Appearance of Love under conditions of Limitation—only, belonging to the practical aspect. But if you fail to see and search out, and see further, the beauty of the cosmos, just so far you fail to achieve the understanding of Love that is possible to you. And this is just as important an aspect of the cosmos as its truth or its goodness. We are ready enough to blame the man who refuses to see truth or goodness, but we are rather apt to think it does not matter if he fails to see beauty. If our argument is just, however, he will fail even more to understand Reality, and that means the Nature of God, if he does not find beauty than if he does not find truth or goodness. Press this point home a little farther, and you find that you cannot get a real understanding of beauty except in terms of either truth or goodness—in actual fact, of both. This leads us to conclude that a man may approach an understanding of Reality along any one of these three roads, and whichever one he follows he will in the end have to reckon with the others consciously, as he has already unconsciously been doing, and will come to know that he will have to, because Reality under the conditions of its own self-vindication as Love through self-limitation, is at once Good, True, and Beautiful. But it also leads us to the conclusion that men are much more likely to arrive at a true understanding if they are shown that all three roads are equally sure to lead them to that Reality, and if their convergence is pointed out. I would urge the importance of this, because so few men have either the ability or the opportunity to follow any one of the roads right to the end, and the majority will be left in doubt as to what that end really is. Most of us have to be content with following first one and then another a little way, and we do quarrel so dreadfully about which is the best one! It really would help us a lot to

be shown that the roads are convergent. Then, even if we could not go the whole way along one or other, we could at least plot a diagram of the bits we and our friends had traversed, and then take a ruler and produce the lines, and find out that in all probability they did meet in one point—unless one of them turned off suddenly, which is not likely.

I started this lecture by saying that I would try to indicate one or two of the ways in which this modified form of Croce's theory of Beauty might influence the reconstruction of the philosophy of Christianity, and to offer one or two practical suggestions. Let me end by attempting to fulfil these promises. The first topic is implicit in all that we have been saying. If it be true that our first contact with Reality is in its essence æsthetic; if it be true that it is only on the basis of æsthetic expression that we can rear our edifice of thought, and that our practical activities are dependent on these and interact with them; and if it be further true that our intuition is an intuition of relation, and the Reality really is reciprocal personal relation, or Love; then the religion of the God of Love must take account of these things. If Love is true to itself, it seems likely that it must eternally be creative, and that its creation must be always full of beauty, because it expresses Love's knowledge of itself as the ultimate Reality, and as personal. Personal Love can only create reciprocal relationships, if it is to be satisfied, and such relationships must be free. Therefore it must limit itself, to give this freedom. The creation is beautiful, but it is only beautiful—is only a one-sided relation—as the necessary preliminary to becoming Love, which is a two-sided relation, in which Beauty is completed in something yet more perfect.

These thoughts must be included in our conception of God and of His Activity. They must equally be included in our conception of man, who also loves, who also creates, who is so identical in his personality with God that he is potentially capable of entering into the perfect union with Him, losing all but his self-identity in that completed bond of Love. Moreover, we must admit that a life devoted to the understanding of beauty may lead to God as surely as a life devoted to the understanding of truth or even of goodness. For the search for understanding of beauty needs as utter sincerity as the others, as strenuous a discipline, as fastidious a rejection of the unworthy. Even as you cannot define one or other of these three without finding

yourself involved in terms of another of them, so you cannot practise one without practising another. Croce points out that the theoretic and the practical activities are not in fact separable.

Now for a brief word of practical suggestion—which cannot be separated from the theoretical. The importance of educating the sense of the beautiful becomes even more obvious than before. Men *must* learn to understand the beauty that is all around them. Because most of us are not artists we must make use of the eyes of those who have had more of the æsthetic intuition than we have, and who have given permanence to their intuition through technique. It is fundamental to Croce's view that when we look at a picture, listen to a symphony, read a book or poem, we are really re-creating for ourselves the artist's intuition. He has made it easy for us to do this because he has eliminated, selected, emphasized, in order to give his intuition full play, free from distracting complexities that bewilder the untrained mind. We must, therefore, teach men to see beauty first, and then try to make them understand what beauty is, and why we find a thing beautiful because it has a meaning to us. An attitude of contempt for the beautiful is as irreligious as one of contempt for the good or the true.

The Beautiful should play a large part in our religious teaching. If Croce is right in saying that ugliness is failure to express an intuition, what a torrent of ugliness must flow from our pulpits! But one could forgive mere failure to express, perhaps, if there was an attempt to express anything at all there in the way of teaching about the nexus between beauty and truth and goodness, and the Love in which they are made one. I firmly believe we shall never get the average man who has a real but undeveloped æsthetic and logical and moral faculty, and who cannot go very far along the one or other road for lack of power or opportunity, to understand much about the Christian idea of God without some teaching about beauty and truth as well as goodness. At present he does get so deadly sick of being told to be good. But if he learns something about God as the Supreme Artist, and why it is sensible to call Him so; if he begins to understand that, just as you follow the intuition of an artist in his pictures, so you can follow the intuition of God—His knowledge of Reality as Love, in *His* creation; then he is likely to take a good deal more interest in religion in general, and in the teaching of Christianity in particular. Specially will he realize that as the

lover is always first an artist, so the Perfect Lover must be first the Perfect Artist. But you must practise what you preach ! If the views I have been putting forward are right in any degree, it follows that real ugliness must be fought as fiercely as real sin—the sin for which it is in so large a measure responsible. For ugliness becomes the failure to realize what Godhead and manhood mean ; it is rooted and grounded in the failure to possess and to present a clear intuition of Reality ; just as sin is, in its own more directly practical manner.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. SCHOFIELD said he congratulated the Institute, the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, on the rare pleasure of having heard a truly philosophic paper ; one, moreover, that has treated a fascinating subject with great discrimination and delicacy of touch. The lecturer clearly felt that his subject was somewhat under a cloud, and to my mind the whole of philosophy shares this position. The aftermath of a great war was hardly a favourable atmosphere for this study, and Mr. McDowall is to be congratulated on the detachment of mind that could give us such a paper at such a trying time.

He rightly points out on page 219 that the rejection of the idea of God is open to objection. Surely it is much more than this. Any system of Ethics or Æsthetics without God is essentially unsound ; is absolutely equivalent to building a house without windows—there is no light in it.

On page 220, where it is stated that “ pure intuition is not an intellectual process ” I must point out that pure intuition is a faculty of the unconscious mind, and that though the process may not be called intellectual, it certainly is mental.

Might not, on page 222, the “ expression ” and “ technical embodiments ” be termed more simply the “ mental and material expressions ” ?

Does not the closing of page 223 and beginning of page 224 express beautifully “ St. Paul’s thought on Mars’ Hill,” “ if haply they might feel after Him and find Him ” ?

Lower down we read, “ We receive : we cannot give ” ; but we do give, if we know the Giver, and the sacrifice of praise is our gift.

The argument in the middle of page 225 strikes me at least as dubious. It seems an attempt with our logical two-foot rule to

measure the Infinite—a process which in Divine things constantly fails us, or lands us in error.

On the other hand, the sentence on page 226, "to grant to others freedom, is to limit your own," seems a profound truth.

On page 228 we get the Good, the True and the Beautiful, which is surely Love, and therefore God. I have often pointed out that while to see man we are equipped with two eyes, to see God we have three—the eye of the conscience or moral sense which sees the Good; the mind or intellect which sees the True; and the heart or Æsthetic sense which sees the Beautiful.

There is no doubt that the narrative shows that the devil in Eden destroyed this triple vision: for men's condition became such that, "There was no fear of God before their eyes." The Good vanished. The wisdom of God was foolishness unto them. The True was denied, and they saw no beauty that they should desire Him. The Æsthetic disappeared.

If not straying too far from the paper, I should like to say that I regard Christianity as an operation for cataract, as indeed, it is said by Christ to be "the recovery of sight to the blind," and by St. Paul "to open the eyes of the blind." When the triple spiritual vision of the three abstract senses is restored by Christ, the man "walks in the fear of the Lord all the day long"—he sees the Good; he cries, "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God"—thus seeing the True; and "He is the chiefest among ten thousand and the altogether lovely," thus once more perceiving the Beautiful—the Æsthetic.

By Reality on page 229, I take it the author means God.

The foot of page 230 must be read *cum grano salis*.

Man as man, blinded by sin, can only fulfil what is there said through the new birth, and the "*must be born again*" is an essential postulate to a true vision of the Beautiful. To see this is of the first importance.

On page 231, in the middle, while agreeing on the value of Beauty, we must be very careful not to worship the Beautiful as such. The object of our worship is not "the holiness of Beauty," but the Lord is to be worshipped in "the *beauty of holiness*," which is a very different thing; and it is well to mark that the beauty of the worship does not consist in its accessories, but in its holiness. There is no doubt the lecturer is right when he tells us that God teaches beauty

and truth, as well as goodness; the Good, True, and Beautiful can do no less! The last page seems to me to take us rather to the æsthetic services of Dr. Percy Dearmer, than to enforce the wonderful meaning of the phrase I have quoted of "the beauty of holiness"—surely a far higher concept of the Æsthetic! Once more I should like to thank the learned author for his most inspiring paper.

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said:—I wish to associate myself with the Chairman in his admiration of the beauty of the diction of this paper. There are many things to discuss in it. I have only space to mention a few.

(1) I combat the statement (page 219) that the reconstruction of the philosophy of Christianity is already well under weigh. I read that Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day and for ever (Heb. xiii, 8). In this world of change He changes not, and He keeps His own, who are warned against the perilous teachings which are coming (2 Tim. iii, 1).

(2) Our author firmly believes (page 231) that the average man won't understand much about the Christian idea of God without some teaching about Beauty and Truth. But, according to Scripture, God has chosen the foolish things of the world that He might put to shame the things that are strong (1 Cor. i, 27).

(3) Our author makes much of Beauty. Now Beauty is good, but it is not useful for every purpose. My thoughts go to the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the one clothed in beautiful garments, the other full of ugly sores. But the destiny of each depended on something quite apart from this Beauty or this ugliness!

(4) (Page 227) I consider that art *should* be trammelled by moral considerations, and that it is not desirable to see low or degrading things in order simply to understand (2 Cor. vi, 17). The Ancient Greeks excelled in Art, but their moral condition was very low, and the pure Gospel was needed by them quite as much as by barbarians.

(5) One cannot help comparing the drift of this paper with the address of the Christian philosopher St. Paul to the heathen at Athens.

To-day we have Beauty extolled, man's wisdom made much of, things likely and unlikely dwelt upon (page 230) and personal opinion advanced (page 231), God's revelation of Jesus Christ ignored, and the climax reached on the last page in the statement that ugliness must be fought as fiercely as sin!

St. Paul dwelt on the ignorance of cultivated* men in spiritual matters; making little of the products of art and of man's device, he urged the need for repentance, he spoke of coming judgment for sin, and he dwelt on the *fact* of the Resurrection.

Which is the soundest position to take?

Our lecturer deserves our thanks for his investigations, chiefly, I think, for the warnings which he gives us against that philosophy on which his paper is based, which (page 219) rejects the idea of God.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES, M.A., said: What is the value of the teaching of this modern philosopher to a well-instructed Christian to whom Christ is "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption"?

"In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," and to be complete in Him both here and hereafter is to be in a glorious position of privilege which no human philosophy can in any way add to or transcend.

Let us test the supposed value of the teaching of creative evolution.

In Gen. i we have God's progressive and evolutionary creative action set forth.

In Gen. ii—God's special creative and direct action in connection with Love and Beauty.

Five hundred years before Christ, Heraclitus of Ephesus recognized this evolutionary method and saw that "All was in motion" (*παντα ρει*).

A thousand years before Christ, in a wise and scholarly Commentary on the Pentateuch, we read, "If these things (in Nature) are beautiful, how much more beautiful must the Author of all Beauty be?"

Bergson and Croce, in their creative evolutionary and æsthetic teachings, have not sufficient knowledge of God or of Christ to be of any use in such times as the present.

No reconstruction of the philosophy of Christianity which in any way attempts to minimize the glory of the Person of Christ and His propitiatory sacrifice can possibly have any attraction for one who knows that in the Person and work of the Son of God all the deepest problems relating to God, Man and the Universe have their only true solution.

At the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford the Dean of St. Paul's asked the question, whether since the Great War and all its

horrors we can pride ourselves so much as formerly on our moral and æsthetic progress.

Possibly the "Lord of Love" of the Theosophists takes a still more gloomy view of the near prospect of his being received on earth, now that the storm raised by "the Four Winds of Heaven" is still raging—and so he must be content with the rôle of an Angel of Light, and postpone yet awhile any further attempt to pose as an Angel of Love.

God is Spirit, and God is Light, and God is Love—these are essential and absolute attributes of the Holy Trinity.

Mr. W. E. LESLIE said :—The term "expression" is fundamental to Croce's theory, but it is not adequately defined. In ordinary usage it implies an agent, a medium or vehicle, and a percipient. Mr. McDowall speaks of the mind as an agent expressing something to the self. The psychological unreality of this distinction is emphasized when we are told that the act of expression and the thing expressed are identical. Is not Croce's "expression" simply the vivid image produced by the contemplation of a simple object, or the prolonged concentration of the attention upon the details of a more complicated object. An artist can portray a face upon which he gazes long in the same way that a boy scout can describe the contents of a shop window which he has studied. "Internal meditation" does not affect the process.

Beauty is said to be the act of expression (= awareness) of an object. Ugliness being indistinct expression (= awareness). It follows that all clear perceptions are beautiful, even if the object or idea contemplated be vile. Does this not divorce Beauty and Goodness? To escape from the difficulty by defining reality as personal relation, or love, is to explain evil by ignoring it.

At the bottom of page 223 we have several allusions to beautiful things or persons. Is not this inconsistent? If beauty is a purely personal subjective act, how can external creation be beautiful? Even if the universe is "a relation that is not reciprocal" we cannot intuit it as such.

On page 224 the loved object gives us of his or her beauty, "for the gift cannot be withheld." In the same way we cannot withhold the gift of our beauty, whether it is accepted or not. Does a mother give her babe nothing beyond its simple physical requirements?

Our conception of the relations eternally subsisting between the

Persons of the Trinity is so imperfect that it is rash to assert that their mutual internal relation of love is selfishness raised to its highest power. Yet it is on this assumption that the proposition "Love is necessarily externally creative," which is vital to Mr. McDowall's thesis, is based.

Remarks communicated by Mr. W. HOSTE (Hon. Sec. to the Council of the Victoria Institute):—Plato, somewhere in the *Phædrus*, foretells for those who on earth have philosophized much on the Beautiful, a rebate of seven thousand years of a sort of purgatorial existence, out of the ten thousand to be endured by more ordinary folk, before they get their wings. I suppose as the result of this paper there is a prospect of an earlier sprouting of wings for any present to-day, who may nourish platonic ideals. Such will be grateful, but I am afraid the majority, though recognizing the literary charm of the paper, will be disposed rather to be critical.

On page 221 "Evolution" is surely a singularly unfortunate illustration of a "pure concept"; defined on page 220 as something "universal and expressive, belonging to all individuals; concrete, and therefore real." Evolution is certainly a "comfortable word," as the late Lord Salisbury remarked on a famous occasion, but means half-a-dozen different things, according to the school discussing it, and is even denied altogether as a true concept by not a few. I should have thought the solid "chair" on which the Evolutionist discusses his theory, the more "concrete" of the two.

The reader of the paper makes Beauty one of the, I will not say rival, but alternative routes, which lead to God. It and Goodness and Truth will all meet some day in a point. But is "beauty" really "beauty" if it has never met with goodness and truth? Can it stand alone? Can you divorce it from "moral considerations"? "Handsome is that handsome does," is not bad philosophy. The Phrynes, the Cleopatras, the Salomes of ancient and modern times to whom the accident of physical beauty is not denied, leave "foot-prints on the sands of time," but do such lead to God? On page 227, the lecturer "would exclude no technical mode of external expression." The "ballet" to him is a means of grace. The producers of modern "revue" would not go as far as that; though I am sure they would all agree with him on page 227 that "art ought not to be trammelled by moral considerations," i.e., that the censor is a nuisance.

On the other hand, our Lord Himself, whose "face," we read, was "more marred than any man's," and of whom the prophet wrote, "There is no beauty that we should desire Him," is disqualified by the showing of an exaggerated cult of the external from being what we believe and know He is, the True Way to God.

One more point in closing. On page 225 it is asserted that if God is to find an adequate object for His love, He must eternally be Creative, otherwise His love could only be selfishness raised to its highest power. This strikes one as very hazardous. It makes God as dependent on His creation for unselfishness as it is on Him for consistence. Matter must then be eternal, otherwise there would have been an eternity of selfish love in the being of God. This challenges His Self-sufficiency and contradicts both Holy Scripture and Christian philosophy. Were Creation a necessity to the *benesse* of God, how could it be "a free act of His wisdom and Almighty power," and where do we find a hint in the Scripture that it was anything else? Such passages as Prov. viii speak of a time in a past Eternity when Wisdom personified was possessed by God, in the beginning, before His works of old. Not even a finite being can find an adequate object short of the infinite. This is agreeable to the famous dictum of Augustine. And Prof. Orr asks pertinently in his *Side Lights on Christian Doctrine*, page 46, "Is it not true of every one of us . . . that our souls can only find their complete rest in the Infinite God, in an Infinite love? . . . How, then, is God, the Infinite One, Himself to find an object for His Fatherly love, commensurate with His infinitude, in our finite souls?" Creation could never be the sufficient object of His love. That the Eternal Son in the bosom of the Father alone could be.

The Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON, M.A., writes:—I am grateful for my first introduction to Croce, who till to-day has been for me but a name. I admire the range and acuteness of his thinking, and feel, with the lecturer, that one who goes so far, might well go further on the road to God. At the same time, we need not limit our appreciation of his thought because he stops too soon, and we can follow the lead given in the lecture with advantage and without fear of doing violence to the starting point itself.

The definition of Beauty as æsthetic expression—which means, I suppose, perception put into form—is perhaps inadequate, for when a

realist in painting depicts a dungheap, or a realist in poetry describes a leper, the resultant is not beautiful.

Again, I should wish to have spoken at some length, had time allowed, on the fallacy so popular with certain fanatics of the brush and the pen, that *ars propter artem*, art for art's sake, is a kind of eleventh commandment not to be disputed. Now, I am sure that it is fallacious.

Life is a unity, no part of it can elude the grasp of the whole. The artist is not free from restraints, any more than is the politician or the doctor, or the farmer.

If the farmer were to say, "A dirty ditch is no eyesore to me, I shall not clear my ditches," he would be promptly and properly visited with penalties. If a doctor were to say, "I shall experiment on my patients without regard to health, decency or suffering," he would be properly punished. What holds good of them, holds also of the artist. He may not delineate any and every object with impunity for art is only a section of life, and may not violate the whole.

I heartily endorse the lecturer's denunciation of ugliness, especially of ugliness in Church, and would have no ugly tunes nor robes nor ornaments used in the houses of God.

The Rev. J. E. H. THOMSON, M.A., D.D., writes :—Although in my early student days I devoted myself very much to the study of, Æsthetics on its theoretic side, my studies in more recent years have rendered it impossible for me to keep abreast with recent philosophy on that subject, consequently I am ignorant of the theories of Croce. As I understand the views of the Italian philosopher as expounded by Mr. McDowall, I in the main agree with them. The Æsthetic Impulse purified and sublimated becomes Love, and love of the highest, of God. In short, the sense of Beauty is ultimately the intuition of God; and Art is the expression of this in the terms of emotion. The history of art confirms this. The earliest poetry was embodied in hymns to Deity, the earliest music, in the rhythmic tones in which they were chanted; the earliest sculpture exercised itself in carving statues of the gods to be worshipped, the earliest architecture erected buildings in which these statues were enshrined, the earliest paintings adorned the courts of these temples. While all this is so, there is an antinomy which Mr. McDowall has not faced.

The evidence of history appears to prove indubitably that the more worship was improved æsthetically the less earnest and spiritual

it became. When our Lord preached and the Apostles followed Him there was no æsthetic adornments either in the discourses or in the accompaniments of them. Paul desired not to preach the Gospel with the wisdom of words, and certainly the private houses in which the believers assembled in those days had no special ornamentation. Yet it was then that devotion was deepest and zeal loftiest. As the Church prospered and the discourses became rhetorical and the meeting places of the Saints became architecturally decorated, real devotion declined. When the Empire became Christian as the outward adornments of worship became more conspicuous the decay of real devotion became more obvious. Indeed, so much so was this the case that in reaction monasticism arose, which has the aspect, at all events, of a worship of ugliness. To live in hovels, to dress in skins or rags, to remain unwashed, became the evidences of superior sanctity. This process went on; external worship became splendid, the monks living in monasteries became luxurious; then arose the preaching friars who discarded all outward adornments. The Friars followed the monks in making splendid churches and monasteries. At the revival of letters there was a revival of æsthetics and a degradation of piety, indeed of simple morality. The reaction came in the Reformation. To a certain extent, indeed, the reaction against the predominance of the æsthetic in worship caused the counter-reformation under Ignatius Loyola.

While heathen religions might consecrate immorality and murder, the religion of Jesus, like Judaism from which it sprang, regards sexual purity and righteousness as *sine quibus non* in its followers. Though one would not wish to press this unduly, artists have had in all ages a reputation of being somewhat free in regard to morality. At the same time we cannot believe that the unsavory reputation of the Quartier Latin is wholly undeserved. The autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini reveals his attitude, and that of the whole artistic world of his day, to ordinary morality. In regard to poetry, Burns and Byron occur to one at once. But taking individuals in this way may be regarded as scarcely fair. There is another way of looking at the matter. In his *Logic*, John Stuart Mill, as one of his "Canons of Method," mentions that of "Concomitant Variations"; when two phenomena vary in the same way we can deduce that they are causally connected. Do we find, then, that the study of Beauty in a community or in an age coincides with a deepened spirituality,

a higher sense of honesty and purity? Is it not the case that it is precisely the reverse? Take Athens under the hegemony of Pericles; the prevalence of nameless vice, and general venality is notorious. Take Rome, under the "Twelve Cæsars"; are not things even worse? There was the same nameless vice, the same venality, with the addition of organized murder in the proscriptions. Papal Rome of the time of the Renaissance is no better. Yet in all these periods art flourished in a way far surpassing anything in the ages preceding or succeeding these periods. Do not these facts suggest a limitation of our hopes from the teaching of Beauty? While in complete sympathy with the views of the Rev. Mr. McDowall, I wish he had recognized and resolved this antinomy.

PROF. H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD, proposing a vote of thanks to the Author for an interesting and very thoughtful paper, said that it contained much with which they found themselves in agreement. The facts that the greatest of realities is God; that God is Love—Infinite Love; that Truth, Goodness, Beauty, are aspects of Him, and approaches whereby we may draw nigh; that, Love fulfilling in personal relationship reciprocal and responsive, the bounden obligation and high privilege of our duty to God bid us respond earnestly to the Love which for our salvation withheld not His own Son; these facts command our belief as fundamental to Christian philosophy.

But our agreement does not extend to Croce's curiously unsatisfactory definition of Beauty as the expression by and to self of the intuition which is our first contact with reality. What does he mean by "Reality"? On page 222 of the paper we are told that the only reality is living spirit. Is not matter a *real* thing? Are not deformity, disease, pain, death, as well as their opposites, *real*? Is not ugliness real, and different from an imperfect expression of the æsthetic intuition? If "Reality" is in Croce's view a synonym for living Spirit, why does he exclude from his philosophy the idea of God, who is Spirit, Light, Love and is the great Reality, as is beautifully insisted on in the paper we have been hearing.

The learned author of the paper has, in my judgment, immensely improved upon Croce's system; has indeed improved it almost out of recognition. Yet a good definition of Beauty is lacking.

Premising that harmony is helpful co-operation of parts of a whole unto the good of each part and of the whole, I would define

Beauty as the effect or expression of harmony. And the perception of the beautiful as perception of harmony expressed between two responsive or communing harmonies—the one in the beautiful object, the other in the mind of the personal percipient.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

To answer the foregoing discussion in detail would involve writing a paper far longer than the original one, I fear. Some of the criticisms show an imperfect apprehension of Croce's meaning, due doubtless to the inadequacy of my brief summary—*e.g.*, *intuition* is an activity of spirit: so is intellection; yet pure intuition is not an intellectual process, but the basis upon which the intellect works (page 232). Beauty is not a purely subjective act, but demands a Reality which is intuited (page 236). Intuition is not the same as perception, since intuition is awareness of Reality, perception awareness of appearance (page 236). No idealist would say that matter was *real*, in the philosophical sense of the word, though doubtless it does denote the existence of an underlying Reality. But itself is probably purely derivative, being dependent on mind for its very existence (page 241)—the objection to "evolution" being cited as a pure concept is due to confusion between *evolution* and *theories of evolution* (page 237)—and so on.

But I take it that the chief objections lie in other regions—those of religion and morals. In this regard I should like to point out that to say that "the reconstruction of the philosophy of Christianity is well under way" is very different from saying that "the reconstruction of Christianity is well under weigh"—a thing which I did not, and could not, say (page 234).

The really fundamental point is whether art should be trammelled by moral considerations or no; and in regard to this I find a very real misunderstanding of the view I have tried to put forward, as is shown by the references to "revue," and other things. It must be remembered that morality and religion are very different things. No doubt the categorical imperative of Ethics ultimately belongs to the realm of religion, but the content of a given ethical code is determined largely by circumstances of time and place. It is the imposition of such a code upon the activities of art to which I raise objection. An artist may have a vision and do work which

he knows is *good*, and yet the code of his time and place may insist that it is evil. It is this condemnation which raises the feeling of rebellious protest in the artist, and it is for the removal of this constraint for which I plead. No one would condemn the representations of a pornographic mind more unsparingly than myself; but in my paper I spoke quite clearly of an art that was true to itself and to its vision of Reality. If an artist can say that what he represents is true and good, we have no right to condemn his work; setting our vision above his; judging, and refusing to be judged ourselves.

The omission of much that could have been said, and the inclusion of much that could have been said differently, was due to the scope of the paper. One started from a philosophical standpoint, and moved towards a theistic one. Fundamentally this last is Christian, I believe; but had one reversed the line of argument its form might have been very different, though it would have led, I am firmly convinced, to the same conclusion. I trust these notes may remove some misconceptions: in excuse of their hurried nature I can only plead a press of work. May I, in conclusion, thank you for a very patient hearing and for your kind words about my paper?

THE 622ND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM B, CENTRAL HALL,
WESTMINSTER, ON MONDAY, JUNE 14TH, 1920,

AT 4.30 P.M.

A. T. SCHOFIELD, ESQ., M.D., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the following elections :—

Member : James Steel, Esq.

Life Associate : The Rev. Dr. E. D. Lucas, Principal of Forman Christian College, Lahore.

Associate : Mrs. Frederick Henlé.

The HON. SECRETARY read a letter from Lady Halsbury apologizing for the inability of Lord Halsbury to take the Chair as promised owing to illness.

In the regretted absence of Lord Halsbury through illness, Dr. Schofield took the chair, and introduced the Very Rev. Dean of St. Paul's.

FREEDOM AND DISCIPLINE. By the Very Rev. W. R. INGE, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.

THE Germans said that the late war was a trial of strength between Discipline and Liberalism. This is perhaps the truest statement of the issue that has yet been made. Our opponents prided themselves on having evolved, for the first time in history, a scientific State—a polity in which all the forces of the community are or can be mobilized for a common end, so that there is no waste, no confusion, no hesitation, and no division. The management was in the hands of experts, who can act without talking. They are not obliged to persuade anybody ; they demand and receive implicit obedience. Under such a system the whole nation submits for the most part willingly to an invisible drill-sergeant. There is no right of private judgment ; right and wrong have lost their usual meanings. Right for the individual means doing what he is told ; for the State it is the interest of the political aggregate. We do not need to be convinced of the terrible efficiency of a nation so organized ; we know it to our cost. It is less obvious, though probably true, that such a polity can only be developed as a military empire, in which the effective force is not in the hands of a mass of voters, nor of class-organizations such as

trade unions, but of the army and its chiefs. Further, it is unlikely that a nation will long submit to military rule unless the people can be induced to believe that they are threatened by other nations, and unless the army is periodically used for conquest and plunder. Thus the whole system hangs together, and the chief danger which menaces it lies in the probability of provoking a powerful coalition. We, on the contrary, represent the democratic principle in its strength and weakness. Our organization is loose and slovenly; we can only mobilize our resources slowly and at enormous cost; our policy is vacillating and inconsistent, and constantly interfered with by the necessity of considering public opinion, and buying off recalcitrant sectional interests. On the other hand, we are perhaps less likely to commit great national crimes; and our neighbours know that they have nothing to fear from us.

The more we reflect on this tremendous struggle, between the ideals of Discipline and Liberty, the more convinced we shall be that it is only one phase of a universal conflict, which in myriad shapes pervades all human relations. It is the issue at stake between Patriotism and Humanitarianism; between Socialism and Syndicalism; between Catholicism and Protestantism—the religion of authority and the religion of personal inspiration (we ought not to be surprised that the Vatican was backing Germany all over the world); between faith in average human nature and the aristocratic ideal. It is one of the fundamental antinomies of life, a part of the Yes and No in which, as Jacob Böhme says, all things consist.

There are some who would state this otherwise. It is, they would say, part of the eternal struggle between good and evil, between light and darkness, between grace and law, between spiritual freedom and bondage. Such is not my position in this paper. I must confess, indeed, that in my own mind the balance inclines less decidedly on the side of liberty than it would have done had I written this paper a few years ago. I have not lost my faith in religious liberty, or my horror of priestly domination, the worst of all forms of tyranny. But I have been disillusioned by recent developments of democracy in England, France, and America. I am no more a pro-German than Plato was a pro-Spartan; but I sympathise with his distaste for Athenian democracy as he knew it, and with his dream of a highly organized State in which those should rule who have learned to rule, and in which each citizen shall have

his work assigned to him. Order is not better than freedom ; but anarchy may destroy freedom more effectually than a habit of obedience. So perhaps my prejudice in favour of discipline in political and social life may counterbalance my prejudice in favour of liberty in the world of thought. But I want to speak without prejudice, as one ought to try to do in dealing with a great and serious problem. And I know, in spite of what I have just said, that the difficulty cannot be solved by leaving thought free and subjecting all the outward life to authority. For all discipline requires some kind of intellectual and moral sanction ; and no repressive government has been able to enforce itself without curtailing free thought and free speech. In Germany a pastor who ventured to say that God is not the special God of the German nation was likely to be deprived of his cure of souls.

The case for Discipline and Authority against Liberty rests partly on the continuity and value of racial experience, and partly on the natural inequality of human beings. There is a strong presumption that any custom, whether of acting or thinking, which has survived for a long period, meets some actual human need, and tends to promote the survival or the happiness of the species. The gains of knowledge and experience which have lifted human societies out of savagery are mainly empirical, sometimes almost accidental ; and they are precarious. They may be and sometimes are lost. Hence arises the necessity of placing them under the protection of consecrated authority, which it is impious to defy or even to criticize. Almost all barbarous societies are held together in this way. The whole system of *tabu* has no other foundation. Some of its prohibitions are or once have been useful, the majority palpably absurd. There is no possibility of separating the wheat from the chaff, because criticism is strictly forbidden. The more we know of primitive societies, the more astonished we shall be at the mass of vexatious and ridiculous rules which a savage has to obey. If an inventive barbarian makes the door of his hut a little wider than is customary, he does so at his peril. More things are *verboten* to the savage than to the Prussian. And yet a strong case may be made out for keeping society under this kind of discipline. The most stable and indestructible polities have been held in chains by tradition. And those nations which have shown unusual intellectual courage and readiness to try new experiments of all kinds, such as the

City States of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy, have had a short life and a merry one. A thoughtful writer, H. R. Marshall, argues that Reason, the experimental, innovating spirit, is the social form of the tendency to variation, instinct, the conservative, disciplined spirit, of the tendency to persistence. Most variations fail to establish themselves, and therefore it is safer to follow instinct. "Common practice and normal beliefs," he says, "are closely related to instinctive capacities, and to some extent represent the effective experience of the race. If, then, we displace them, we should use the greatest care not to displace their resultants in the life of action." History seems to show—and this is to me a very interesting fact—that the evil consequences of rash liberty are exhibited neither in the routine of ordinary life, which has become so deeply rooted in habit as to be almost a matter of instinct, and is therefore to a large extent immune to the innovating temper, nor in the highest spiritual life, which is so recent and insecure an acquisition that its tender growth is stifled by repression and requires freedom for its development, but in the intermediate field of morality, where the protection of consecrated custom seems to be almost necessary. The moral consciousness has not had a long enough racial history to act automatically; it has to struggle against various impulses and instincts which are older than itself. It is based largely on racial experience of comparatively recent date, and the independent judgment of the individual can by no means always be trusted to coincide with the stored experience of society at large. Therefore adventurous, free-thinking societies, which have rejected the trammels of authority, generally come to grief because their intellectual development far outstrips their moral practice. The Romans knew that they were intellectually inferior to the Greeks; but they also perceived that the Greeks were "too clever by half" even for their own interests, and they despised them for their untrustworthiness and moral levity. Quite rightly they recognized the greater survival-value of their own reverence for custom: *Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque.*

Even more startling than the obliquities of Hellenic morality are the viciousness and criminality of the Italian republics of the Renaissance, during the period of their most brilliant achievements in art and literature. The same tendency to moral shipwreck is sometimes seen in the boldest and freest individual characters; though many courageous navigators

in strange seas of thought instinctively feel the danger of making experiments in conduct, and choose deliberately to live quite conventionally on this side. This is especially the case in our own country, where the fear of logic is almost instinctive. Some of our most emancipated free-thinkers have been, to their own great advantage, almost philistines in their acceptance of traditional ideas in morality. Experience certainly seems to indicate that in morals authority is indispensable. The individual is not only an incompetent judge in some matters of right and wrong, but his judgment is likely to be warped by his temperament precisely in those questions where he is in most need of sound guidance. Now it is obvious that authority is much more efficacious in overcoming temptation when it is regarded as absolute. This is why religion has so much more potent an influence upon conduct than mere ethics. For religious authority is always a guidance which is conceived of as external to ourselves, and infallible. To accept authority means to submit voluntarily and without question to the dictation of a will or wisdom which is not our own. It is necessary to insist on this, because some writers, like Mr. Balfour, have lumped together all non-rational processes by which men come to assent to propositions, and have called them authority. This would even cover the "will to believe" of the experimental pragmatist. But the essence of authority as a source of belief and a guide to conduct is that it issues absolute commands which must not be questioned, and which are supposed to emanate from some power, not ourselves, who has the right to issue them. It is the negation of private judgment. Belief in such an absolute authority has a great influence upon external conduct, and there is no doubt that the form of moral habits modifies the character itself.

Advocates of strong Discipline may also appeal to the diversities of human endowments. Men are born unequal. Democracy rests on a pure superstition—viz., that a large number of admittedly foolish persons, voting together, will somehow evolve political wisdom. We may say that it is a belief in the plenary inspiration of the odd man. But in reality the majority of human beings recognize their incompetence either to govern other people or to devise a religion and a philosophy for themselves. So much is this the case that the path to freedom is barred far more by the many who wish to obey than by the few who wish to rule. And there are many persons who will develop

their capacities, even their freedom, much more fully under a system of authority and discipline than if they were left to themselves. Three quotations from French writers will serve to support me here. "Weak minds," says Janet, "have an enormous need of an external affirmation. The answer does not matter much to them; provided it be clear and decisive, they are immediately comforted." Renan says: "The existence of a stable society guaranteeing the existence of a stable psychical state, the average individual finds himself personally interested in the conservation of traditional beliefs and customs in his surroundings, and innovators become his personal enemies." Blondel, speaking of the educative force of tradition, says: "Tradition brings into distinct consciousness elements which before were retained in the depths of faith and practice, rather than expressed, placed in their true relations, and reflected on. Therefore, this conservative and preservative power is at the same time an instructive and initiating power. Even that which it discovers, it has the humble feeling of faithfully recovering. It has nothing to innovate, because it possesses its God and its all; but it can always teach us something new, because it makes something pass from the implicit that is lived (*l'implicite vécu*) to the explicit that is known." This last sentence contains too bold a claim; for, as I shall show presently, the tendency of tradition is to check experience and gag knowledge. But it is perfectly true that Discipline may be a safeguard of freedom. Freedom is not an original endowment of human nature. A fool cannot be free; and a man who cannot control himself cannot be free. "*Qui sibi servit servo servit; qui se regit regem regit.*" The independence of the ignorant merely liberates him from the experience of the past. Examples may be found in the downright silliness of many religious sects which have sprung up since the Reformation, and in the recrudescence of superstition which marks the emancipation of the half-educated in a free country. The experience of the United States shows how little democracy has to do with real liberty. In many ways the dweller in a small censorious New England town is more interfered with, if his tastes are at all unusual, than if he lived at Petrograd before Lenin. In matters of thought, the American is "free" to be a Christian Scientist, or to believe that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays. In a Catholic country these and many other aberrations hardly exist; thought in the Latin countries acknowledges some authority, though not

always the same authority; and a man is not encouraged to make a fool of himself "at his own risk," as William James, that most characteristic American philosopher, would have us do.

Again, the supporters of Discipline often lay stress upon the organic unity of mankind. The voice of authority is, they say, the voice of the racial self, or of the national self, or of the Body of Christ. I have already indicated a very limited sense in which this claim may be admitted. No sensible man will undervalue the importance of racial experience. But, as I shall show presently, when tradition is artificially exempted from criticism, and still more when it is employed to promote the interests of a corporation, whether secular or religious, it may easily become the most formidable of obstacles in the way of progress. The metaphor of a social organism is often abused. The analogy between society and the human body is not to be pressed too closely. The members of a social organism have a value as individuals; they have indefeasible rights against the organization of which they are parts; and above all, every human being is a member of several social organizations, no one of which can claim absolute rights over him. To make any one social organism absolute is destructive not only of freedom, but of morality, and of the purposes for which moral freedom and moral judgment exist.

We will now consider the case for Freedom. The first and most obvious consideration is that repressive Discipline always involves a curtailment of that self-determination which is one of the highest attributes of humanity. It is, as Lucan says, only the shadow of Liberty which we preserve if we resolve to will whatever we are ordered to do. Zeus, says Homer, takes away half a man's manhood when he makes him a slave. We can illustrate this truth by the effects of domestication upon the lower animals. Sir Samuel Baker considered that the wild-boar, in a state of nature, is the bravest and most intelligent of all animals. We have turned him into the tame pig, a proverb for all the qualities that we despise. It is the same, in various degrees, with the other animals which we have tamed. It seems to be impossible to preserve any nobility of character in a population which has been drilled and disciplined for generations. Treat men as machines, and you will turn them into evil-minded machines, for man was not meant to be a machine. For here also, as in the other extreme case of unchecked licence

to innovate, it is in the moral sphere that the evil effects of a bad system are most manifest. I do not wish to abuse the Germans, but as regards humanity and chivalry in war they have put back the clock several hundred years. Discipline turns the pupil of the Jesuits into a pliant and serviceable tool for any iniquity which may be prescribed to him in the name of obedience, and for "the greater glory of God." The conscience, which was intended to be an inward monitor on every question of right and wrong, is forbidden to act. Under this treatment it soon atrophies. Whatever progress takes place in a severely disciplined society, must come from above—from the rulers. But the rulers are generally opposed to all innovation, when once they think that their machine is in working order. They regard society as a mechanism rather than as a changing organism; they look backward rather than forward for their inspiration; they particularly dislike that uncertainty about the goal which is part of the free man's outlook upon life. There is a spirit of adventure in the free man, in the Protestant, such as finds expression in these fine lines of Browning's *Rabbi ben Ezra* :—

"And I shall thereupon
Take rest, ere I be gone
Once more on my adventure brave and new;
Fearless and unperplexed,
When I do battle next,
What weapons to select, what armour to endue."

George Meredith even says, "Spirit raves not for a goal," as if perpetual action were an end in itself. This I do not agree with. The world is a kingdom of ends: all that we do has an object, and the object is something which will have its fulfilment. But the world is in the making, and we who work in it and try to know it are in the making too. The goal is not in sight: "it doth not yet appear what we shall be." Therefore, we follow the gleam, like travellers in a strange country; even as Abraham set forth at God's command, not knowing whither he went. Evolution, for the lover of Freedom, is no mere mechanical unpacking of what was there all the time. There is a new creation always going on. "*Tempora mutantur; nos et mutamur in illis.*"

All such thoughts are unwelcome to the disciplinarian and institutionalist. He would instinctively prefer a stable world, and a revelation completed in the past. For him the truth was implicitly communicated long ago; the function of history, of

mankind's life in time, is merely to make it explicit, to unfurl the scroll on which the law of God is written. Hence we see—I really think that there is no exception to the rule—that an institution, as soon as it has perfected itself and imposed the yoke of its discipline on those who are subject to it, begins to strangle the idea which it was intended to preserve,* and finally is immovably chained in fetters of its own forging. It perishes at last from sheer immobility and inability to adapt itself to changing conditions. If this fate has been even partially escaped by Catholicism, the classical example of a religion of authority, it is only by virtue of a saving inconsistency derived from the Christian element in its origins—an element which values inwardness and mysticism, and so keeps the mind open to receive the “fresh springs” which flow continually from the living God. But we know that the relations of mysticism and ecclesiasticism in the Roman Church have been generally uneasy and disturbed. Authority in religion always fears and distrusts the inner light, and with good reason, for it proclaims a rival authority against the voice of the Church. Both claim infallibility, though neither can substantiate the claim. Infallibility is a category which men cannot use. What guarantee can we have that any authority is infallible? It may speak in very dictatorial tones; but that is no proof of Divine inspiration. It may buttress itself with the prestige of long tradition, but error does not grow more respectable by becoming inveterate. It may claim confirmation from signs and wonders; but there is not the slightest reason to connect Divine inspiration with power to upset the normal processes of nature. When we have proved our miracle to our own satisfaction, we find that its evidential value is nothing at all. The sons of the Pharisees (we are told) cast out devils, and Charles II touched successfully for the king's evil; but we should not specially value the opinion of the former upon the grace of humility nor that of the latter upon the grace of chastity. Absolute authority is impossible, because it assumes not only absolute wisdom and goodness in Him who imparts the revelation, but a corresponding absoluteness in the wisdom and goodness of him who receives it; otherwise how can the recipient discern the voice of God from other

* Compare the wise words of Kant: “All things, even the most sublime, grow small under the hands of men, when they turn the ideas of them to their own use.”

voices? When a Church claims absolute authority, it is using an instrument which is not what it pretends to be. It is really a proclamation of martial law; it gives warning that it will punish dissent and forbid criticism. Religious persecution is martial law in practice. For this reason it is quite futile to argue with a man who has accepted the principle of absolute authority. The Roman Church does not even think it worth while to discard the most irrational of its fables. It knows that a Newman will accept the liquefying blood of St. Januarius and the flying house of Loreto, as soon as he has "made his submission." But we must remember that the authority of the inner light is not infallible either. The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. He cannot know them, because they are spiritually discerned. To purge the spiritual eye is no light task, but the work of a lifetime. The example of some of the Gnostics, and of the Brethren of the Free Spirit in the Middle Ages, shows how dangerous it is to trust to private inspiration. That way madness lies.

In nothing is the conflict of the two ideals more intense than in education. Catholicism will surrender every other channel of influence sooner than its hold over the children. Liberalism thinks it absolutely immoral to imbue the immature mind with indelible prejudices. Contrast the Jesuit seminary with an English public school, governed very largely by the boys themselves; or, to give a stronger instance, with such remarkably successful experiments as the "Ford Junior Republic," for young criminals, near Detroit.

Before the end of this lecture I hope to consider briefly what to a Christian must be the conclusion of the whole matter—the attitude of Christ towards the conflicting claims of Freedom and Discipline. But first I should like to say something of the allegiance which the two ideals severally command in our own time.

There can be no greater mistake, in my opinion, than to suppose that the trend of our age before the war and in Britain was towards socialism. State-socialism is the apotheosis of discipline and the negation of freedom. It is the hardest of all hard forms of government. It ruthlessly suppresses the inclinations of the individual, subordinating him entirely to the interests of the State. It regulates every detail of his life—if it ever establishes itself it will certainly be obliged to regulate marriage and the number of births. It will crush all revolts, whether of individuals

or of classes, by simply condemning the rebels to exclusion from its organization—that is to say, to banishment or starvation. It would be a tremendous tyranny, but it might be a magnificently ordered scientific State. Now this ideal does not appeal to our contemporaries for its own sake. To the masses it is abhorrent, not only in England, but to a less extent even in Germany. It is interesting, and a little surprising to us who regard Germany as wholly Prussianized, to read statements like the following from Rudolf Eucken: “Hard and soft periods are apt to alternate. To-day softness is undoubtedly predominant and tends to give rise to the idea that the weak are good and the strong bad, and that it is the duty of the latter to give way to the former the moment there is a conflict of interests. Thus there is a widespread modern tendency to take sides with the child against the parent, with the pupil against the teacher, and in general with those in subordination against those in authority, as if all order and all discipline were a mere demonstration of selfishness and brutality.” This might well have been written by an Englishman—we should recognize its truth at once if it were said of our own country. That it is possible for a very clear-sighted German observer to say it of his countrymen proves that we have to deal, not with an idiosyncrasy of English sentimentalism, but with a tendency which is common to the whole of the European world. This “softness” is, quite plainly, the ethical sentiment of the proletariat, which has become articulate as soon as this class succeeded to political power. Eucken, who regards the vogue of Nietzsche as a violent protest against the flaccidity and colourlessness which must pervade social life if this sentimental equalization of the unequal should carry the day, goes on to deprecate not less strongly what he calls *politicism*—the undue increase in the power of the State, in consequence of which, he says, “the whole of spiritual life tends to fall more and more under the power of the State, and to receive as it were an official stamp.” This is an evil to which we are entirely strangers. It has come upon Germany not because it is part of the spirit of the age, but as a necessary result of bitter national rivalries. If we become a socialistic State, it will be because we feel our existence threatened by another nation, or by sectional anarchism at home. It may be that the spirit of nationalism will end in a victory for State-socialism everywhere—such a form of government is the logical outcome of fierce and aggressive patriotism in any

country—and of the conditions imposed by it upon its neighbours. But it is not the ideal of the masses anywhere, and would only be accepted by them after a hard struggle. What we usually call socialism is more like individualism run mad. It is anarchic and antinomian, sentimental and emotional, a sort of completely secularized and materialized primitive Christianity. For it is strong in "love of the brethren," and in discountenancing private ambition. It resents all discipline, except that of the trade unions, which is submitted to for the same reason which makes the German democrat submit to military rule—viz., because he has enemies whom he wants to conquer or against whom he wants to protect himself. The aspirations of our age in Great Britain have been for a fuller and freer life for the individual. Nationalism, is, for the revolution, the real enemy; and it is the enemy because it logically leads to a hierarchical State-socialism, in which the individual is sacrificed to the State, the form of government which above all he dreads. I will not attempt to judge between these rival tendencies. Personally, I would rather be governed by a strong bureaucracy—honest, economical and efficient—than be a prey to the sectional fanaticisms of trade unionists, syndicalists, and what not. But I believe that an omnipotent socialist government would soon throttle all the life out of the people, and I should dread inexpressibly the perhaps inevitable alliance between the bureaucracy and a priesthood.

I pass to the concluding section of my enquiry. What can we learn from Christ about the relative merits of Freedom and Discipline? Fundamentally, He was on the side of Freedom. Tertullian says truly and forcibly: "*Dominus noster veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit.*" He sets Himself decidedly against "the tradition of the elders," wherever it comes in conflict with humility, charity, and spiritual sincerity. He must be held to have maintained the rights of the pure and enlightened conscience, not only against the Jewish hierarchy, but against all consecrated tradition and priestly casuistry, not least (by anticipation) against that which came to shelter itself under His own name. He deliberately placed Himself in the prophetic succession, appearing before His contemporaries as "the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee." He was, therefore, in the eyes of the Jews, a lay-teacher, whose credentials were personal inspiration. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to speak good tidings." It was the champions of authority who declared war to the knife

against Him. They were right from their point of view. His teaching was subversive, not of the law, but of legalism. So St. Paul saw clearly, and St. Paul understood what the Gospel meant. "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free," is his exhortation. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," says the last and greatest of the inspired interpreters of the Divine message.

But Christian freedom, like all other Christian rights, duties, and virtues, contains a paradox, and needs a good deal of analysis. Christianity is a simple creed, but its simplicity is that kind of simplicity which consists in ultimate harmony and perfection, and not in poverty of content or shallow obviousness. The ancient collect which addresses the Deity as "O God who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom": or in the splendid terseness of the Latin original, borrowed from St. Augustine, *Deus auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est*: expresses with more dignity the same truth as the modern epigram, "The Christian is the Lord's servant, the world's master, and his own man." The way to Christian freedom is "to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." It has in it an element of *fear*, fear of God—an unpopular doctrine which we forget at our peril. Modern Europe does forget it. Heine in his mocking vein says that the German appropriates the Deity ("*unser Gott*"); the Frenchman patronizes Him ("*le Bon Dieu*"—the good-natured, easily propitiated God of the French Catholic); the Italian insults Him (by mixing Him up with the definite article); the Englishman ignores Him (by never mentioning Him in conversation). The old Puritan ideal of living always under "our great Taskmaster's eye," though harshly expressed, is Christian. "Yea, I say unto you, fear Him," our Lord said. And we cannot overstate the rigour of the self-discipline with which the Christian must purchase his right to be free. Outward liberty without inner self-control, self-development without self-sacrifice, are ruinous. It is because men do not rule themselves that it is often salutary for them to bear an external yoke. An arbitrary government, a tyrannical Church, may in some cases be schoolmasters to bring men to Christ, though it is a sad pity that such methods should ever be necessary. There are many, on the other hand, who never rise in this life from the fear of God to the love of God. We must not blame them.

If they live in obedience, they will have their reward hereafter. Tauler says very well, "He who serveth God with fear, it is good. He who serveth Him with love, it is better. But he who in fear can love, serveth Him best of all." It is only perfect love that casteth out fear; and perfect love is, even for the holiest saint, an unrealized ideal.

Further, though the Founder of our religion was certainly no institutionalist, neither was He an individualist. Among all the brotherhood worketh one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will. We are members one of another, bound to bear others' burdens, and to allow others to bear ours. Christianity promises to make us free; it never promises to make us independent. That is the fundamental difference between Christianity and Stoicism; and for minds of a strong and self-reliant temper it is a very important difference indeed. Christian humility largely consists in willingness to depend on others, and to receive from them what they are able to give. This applies to the intellectual life as much as to the social life. Pride isolates a man; and an isolated man is a very small and cramped man, a poor creature. Personality only reaches its true nature, that is to say, its true end, by free giving and receiving, by wide and deep sympathy. Ultimately, we are what we understand and what we love. No man can really march to heaven alone. Thus, however much we hug the idea of freedom, we must not deny our interdependence on each other.

That Christianity is at bottom a religion of freedom is shown by the prominent place which it gives to *love* and *joy*. Love is essentially free service, rendered willingly and gladly. It is to the credit of human nature that a slave may love his master; but in loving him he ceases to be a slave, except externally. Augustine's "*ama, et fac quod vis*" is one of those Christian paradoxes which may be dangerous to non-Christians, but not to anyone who understands what Christianity is. The perfect law, the law of liberty, is not tolerant of antinomianism. Freedom begins with *posse non peccare*; it is consummated only in *non posse peccare*. It is the Apostle of love who says curtly "Sin is lawlessness." As for joy, which no one before St. Paul had erected into a moral virtue, it is the fine flower of the Christian life, and its disappearance is the surest token that we have lost our way. It was an unmistakable attribute of the Christian character, through all the ages of persecution. It was one of the

things which attracted Augustine to the Church of Christ. And we need not prove by argument that joy is the consciousness of inner freedom, the consciousness that, as someone has lately put it, "the universe is friendly." Joy and love go hand in hand. "He who loveth, runneth, flieth and rejoiceth," as Thomas à Kempis says. Joy produces love, and love joy.

We are thus, as usual when we turn to the New Testament in our difficulties, confronted by an apparent paradox which turns out to be a real reconciliation of opposites. It solves no particular political and social problems; but it convinces us that the rival ideals which we see struggling for supremacy in the world around us are not absolutely opposed to each other, each containing an element of truth. We cannot put the two ideals on the same level, and we may hope that the old historical forms of disciplinary repression have nearly had their day. The ideal of the priest and the drill-sergeant are still a danger, and will long be a nuisance, but few suppose that the future is theirs. Neither Rome nor Berlin will be the spiritual capital of the new world. Still, spiritual freedom must be "purchased with a great sum"; and we shall not have it unless we are worthy of it, which I am afraid we are not at present.

Dr. SCHOFIELD (Chairman) said how very much the Institute was indebted to Dr. Inge for such an able and closely-reasoned paper. It was full of thought, and thought for the times of extreme value. In accordance with custom there would be no discussion, and he esteemed himself highly privileged in being allowed to make a few remarks on what they had just heard.

He would offer nothing by way of criticism, which would be entirely out of place, and also because he agreed with the paper; and felt that with profound insight the root of the matter had been reached.

All he would venture to do was to underline and emphasize some of the beauties of the paper which he would greatly regret if they were overlooked by the audience. He could, of course, only point out what struck him, and no doubt, each one will have additions to make.

By comparing page 244 we learn that under real discipline (as in

Germany), "right and wrong lose their usual meaning," and on page 245 we find that England, standing for freedom, is less "likely to commit great national crimes": two remarkable statements, clearly pointing out the drift of the two principles when humanly carried to their logical conclusion.

I admire the courage of the Dean (which indeed has never been in question) when he voices what so many of us think, but so few of us like to utter, that "we ought not to be surprised that the Vatican was backing Germany all over the world." Some, he adds (amongst whom the Dean was not to be included), who regarded the war as part of the eternal struggle between evil and good, darkness and light, bondage and spiritual liberty.

On page 247 the Dean quotes an interesting statement from H. R. Marshall to the effect that Reason represents the tendency to variation in evolution, instinct the tendency to persistence.

A little lower down I am much pleased to see that Dean Inge emphasizes a difference which Modernism either fails to discern, or denies outright. He speaks of "the intermediate field of morality" as entirely distinct and below the spiritual life—a position of great value at the present time.

On page 248 Democracy is unveiled in all its nakedness: the Dean declaring it "rests on a pure superstition—viz., that a large number of admittedly foolish persons, voting together, will somehow evolve political wisdom."

The paper contains more profound truths than I can enumerate. I will quote one or two.

"A fool cannot be free: and a man who cannot control himself cannot be free."

"Authority in religion always fears and distrusts the inner light."

"There is not the slightest reason to connect Divine inspiration with the power to upset the normal processes of nature. When we have proved the miracle to our own satisfaction, we find that its evidential value is nothing at all. The sons of the Pharisees (we are told) cast out devils: and Charles II touched successfully for the King's evil, but we should not specially value the opinion of the former upon the grace of humility, nor that of the latter upon the grace of chastity."

"What we usually call socialism is more like individualism run mad. It is anarchic and antinomian, sentimental and emotional,

a sort of completely secularized and materialized primitive Christianity."

"The way to Christian freedom is to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

And lastly :—

"An arbitrary government, a tyrannical Church, may in some cases be schoolmasters to bring men to Christ, though it is a sad pity that such methods should ever be necessary."

But the gem of the paper is in its final remarks on the last page, when the Dean reaches the pregnant conclusion that after all Discipline and Liberty "are *not* absolutely opposed to each other," thus adding one more to the marvellous list of things that even two made one in the Cross of Christ. For here we see Jew and Gentile, bond and free, rich and poor, as well as mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, and now discipline and freedom, made one in the Great Sacrifice, the sole key to the redemption of mankind, and the only solution to the world's great problems to-day.

Prof. H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD said he was sure they would all wish to express their appreciation of an address marked by that profound thought, acute analysis, felicitous diction, which had long been recognized in the able author. That address will, to a great extent, have enlisted cordial assent. Especially valuable are pages 255-257.

But "there are spots in the sun": and there is lacking clear definition of the terms "Freedom" and "Discipline," and of self-discipline as distinguished from what is imposed from without. The statement, on page 249, that "Discipline may be a safeguard of freedom" seems inconsistent with that, on the next page, that "repressive Discipline" (and all Discipline is repressive) "always involves a curtailment of "that self-determination which is one of the highest attributes of humanity."

As a matter of fact, man, in his present condition, is always a *servant* to one of the two principles, or forces, perpetually operating: he is yielding himself to obey either the Sin force or the force of Righteousness. These "two masters" are irreconcilable with each other. A man cannot be servant (or slave) to both at once, and he must serve one. His *will* is *free* to make the choice, the service of either necessarily involving Freedom from the service of the other.

The service of GOD, being obedience unto Him, involves Freedom from disobedience, *i.e.*, from sin—cause of death and all evil. This *Freedom* which is offered in the Gospel is that wherewith the Truth makes free, is that wherewith the Son of GOD—Revealer of the Father—makes free: in it is contained man's highest glory—the Freedom of the Service of Love. It cannot be attained without Self-discipline—the *ἐγκράτεια* of Aristotle. "And we cannot overstate the rigour of the self-discipline with which the Christian must purchase his right to be free."

But man is not an isolated individual: he is a member of a *social* community, his personality is realizable through the personality of other men. There must be helpful co-operation for the good of each and all. The fabric of social well-being rests upon three pillars—Order (impossible without), Discipline (impossible without), Authority. And the right order flows from the Discipline imposed by the supreme Authority of GOD.

Lieut. Colonel MACKINLAY said:—It is my pleasant duty to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Schofield for his able conduct of the chair at this our Annual Meeting.

I gladly support his remarks on the paper we have just heard read. When some months ago the Dean of St. Paul's proposed the title, we all thought it a most excellent one, particularly at the present time. We all now agree, I am sure, that the Annual Address is as good as its title. It is packed full of pithy and happy epigrams, deduced from history and from keen observation of present-day conditions, as it deals with human nature and with the changing conditions of efficient government.

As our Chairman well remarks, it leads up to a grand climax, to the teachings of our Lord about Freedom and Discipline. Although the Scriptures have primarily a spiritual purpose in the salvation of individuals, and although, as our Author tells us, the New Testament solves no practical political or social problems, nevertheless the Bible has been, and is, most useful in human government. As an instance, I remember when, a few years ago, a disastrous fire had occurred in a coal mine in the North of England, and when all efforts to extinguish it and to rescue the miners had failed, it was determined to block up one of the shafts and so cut off the supply of air, and thus put out the fire in order to save further damage.

Cutting off the air meant, of course, death to anyone in the mine, but it had been concluded by the experts that no one could be any longer alive underground.

The families of the entombed miners would not, however, accept this verdict, and a tumultuous crowd assembled to prevent the blocking up of the shaft. The few police present were unable to restrain the people, and it looked as if a serious riot would take place with probable loss of life.

Just then an open-air preacher happened to be present, and he began to speak to the excited crowd; he did not tell them to obey the authorities, but he dwelt on the love of God and on the offer of salvation through trusting to the Lord Jesus Christ.

Soon the people were eagerly listening to his message, and all risk of a riot was at an end, and the chief constable heartily thanked the preacher. Other similar instances of the effect of the proclamation of Gospel truths will probably occur to all of us.

I now conclude as I began, by asking you to accord, by acclamation, our sincere thanks to our Chairman of to-day. He is also the esteemed Chairman of our Council, and the Editor of our annual volume. (Applause.)



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